University of Alberta

Korean Youth's Perception of Human Rights in the Context of School and Society

by

Carrie L. Malloy ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

in

International and Global Education

Department of Educational Policy Studies

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring 2002

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-69665-0

Canadä

University of Alberta

Library Release Form

Name of Author: Carrie L. Malloy

Title of Thesis: Korean Youth's Perception of Human Rights in the Context of School and Society

Degree: Master of Education

Year this Degree Granted: 2002

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as herein before provided, neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

Carrie Malloy

P. O. Box 105
Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan
S0G-4A0

Jan. 31, 2002

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *Korean Youth's Perception of Human Rights in the Context of School and Society* submitted by *Carrie L. Malloy* in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of *Master of Education* in *International and Global Education.*

Dr. Swee-Hin Toh, Supervisor

Marilyn I Assheton-Smith

Dr. Marilyn I. Assheton-Smith

Sandra Ubelacker

Dr. Sandra Ubelacker

Date: Jan 25, 2002

ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to understand how Korean youths view their human rights situation. It also focuses on the role that education plays in ensuring youth are knowledgeable about their rights and those of others around them.

The data for this study were collected mainly through the use of interviews, while observation of youth and discussions with professionals in the area of human rights also contributed to the findings. The sample for this study included 10 high school students in Seoul, South Korea.

The findings show that the youth were able to recognize many inhumane situations and inequalities in their own society, especially in schools. Punishments by teachers and the focus of the curriculum on the university entrance examination were explored in detail. Most students had learned very little about human rights in school, even though the government has taken a special effort to incorporate youth rights into legislation.

한글 초록

케리 멀로이

본 논문은 한국 청소년의 인권, 특히 학교 안팎에서의 생활 경험에서 인권을 어떻게 바라보고 있는지를 이해하기 위한 연구이다. 특히 교육이 청소년 자신과 타인의 권리를 이해하게 하며 그들의 권리를 보호하는데 있어서 자신들의 책임을 수행할 수 있도록 권한을 부여하게 만드는 역할을 하고 있는지를 규명하는데 연구 초점이 있다.

연구 자료는 인터뷰를 통해 일차적으로 수집한 것이며 청소년에 대한 관찰과 인권 전문가들과의 토의 역시 자료 수집에 큰 도움이 되었다. 면접은 한국 서울에 소재하고 있는 고등학교에 재학하고 있는 학생 10명과 이루어졌다. 그들은 남녀 동수로 구성되었으며 실업계와 인문계 학생 모두 포함되었다. 그들과의 면접 결과 한국 청소년의 대부분은 인권이란 용어 자체에 대한 이해나 체계적인 지식을 가지고 있지 않은 것으로 나타났다. 그러나 청소년 자신들은 그들 사회에 내재하고 있는 많은 비인간적 상황과 불평등- 특히 학교에서의 개인적 경험을 통해- 을 인지할 수 있었다. 이러한 비인간적 요소들은, 사회의 경쟁적 특성에 기인하여 학급 안팎에서 벌어지고 있는, 단적으로 학생들이 공부하는 데 보내는 수많은 시간들; 학급 안에서 교사의 선호도에 의해 자행되는 학생들에 대한 불공정한 처우(여학생보다 남학생을 우선한다든지, 헤매는 학생들보다 영리한 학생들을 더 배려하는 것); 그리고 모욕이나 물리적 처벌 등이다. 학생들은 대학입학시험 중심의 획일적인 교육과정의 문제와 이러한 시험 성공이 가져오는 사회적 영향력에 대해 알고 있다.

대부분 학생들은 학교에서 인권교육을 거의 받고 있지 않다고 생각하면서 인권교육이 그들의 삶에 매우 유익하며 또 필요하다는 데 동의한다. 비록 현 정부가 국제 인권 조약을 준수하는 국가로서 청소년 권리를 법제화시키는 특별한 노력을 기울이고 있음에도 불구하고 대부분의 청소년들은 이러한 법제화가 자신들의 생활에 아무런 영향을 주고 있지 않다고 느낀다. 따라서 본 연구가 법적 개선 뿐만아니라 교육규정과 실천을 증진시키는데 기여할 수 있기를 희망한다.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Toh, Swee-hin, for his guidance and reassurance throughout my research and writing. I am also grateful to the other members of my committee, Dr. Marilyn Assheton-Smith and Dr. Sandra Ubelacker for their comments and suggestions.

I would like to extend a special thanks to Dr. Kang, Soon-won, who went out of her way to aid me in the preparation and application of my study while in Korea and again when I returned to Canada. I would also like to thank Kim, Seol-a, Joo, Hye-jung, and Lee, Min-hee for all of their help while I was in Seoul. Also, I would like to show my appreciation to UNESCO for allowing me the use of their library, UNICEF for providing my participants with CRC booklets, and KEDI for its support.

I would particularly like to thank the 10 Korean youth who made this study possible. I truly appreciate all of the time and thoughtfulness that went into their interviews and hope that their openness and candor will help to improve youth rights in Korea.

I am truly indebted to my friends here in Edmonton, who have been extremely patient and supportive. A special thanks goes to Patricia Rempel, Andrea Spevak, Chelsea Rutkowski, and Ryu, Hye-rin whose extra efforts have not gone unnoticed.

Of course, I cannot forget the support of my family, without which, I would not have made it this far. I cannot begin to express my gratitude for the unending words of encouragement and praise that have led me to this place in my life. Thank you.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support provided by the Sandy MacTaggart award for study in Asia. My year in Korea and Nepal has given me wonderful memories and an invaluable learning experience that has encouraged me to dedicate myself to helping to improve the human rights of youth in developing countries as well as here in Canada.

Table of Contents

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

A. The Setting 1
B. Conceptual Framework 3
  Human Rights 3
  Human Rights Education 5
  South Korea and Human Rights 5
C. Purpose of the Study / Statement of the Research Problem 6
D. Significance of the Study 7
E. Limitations 8
F. Delimitations 8

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 9

A. Human Rights 9
  A Brief History of Human Rights 10
  Cultural Relativism vs. Universalism 13
  Globalization and Human Rights 17
  Convention on the Rights of the Child 22
B. Human Rights Education 25
C. South Korea and Human Rights 29
  Historical Background 29
  South Korean Paradigms of Development 32
  Korea's Education System 34
  Human Rights Issues 38
  Recent Developments in Human Rights Theory and Practice 42

III. METHODOLOGY 47

A. Orientation 47
  Entry to the Field 48
  Sampling 48
B. Data Collection Methods 49
  Interviews 49
  Analysis of the data 51
C. Research Ethics 52
  Confidentiality 52
  Ethical Treatment of Participants 53

Validity and Reliability.......... 54

IV. STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES ON HUMAN RIGHTS 56

A. Human Rights Knowledge 56
B. Teacher-Student Relationships.......... 58
Competition in the Classroom 59
Inequalities in the Classroom.......... 62
Classroom Voices 65
Physical and Verbal Abuse in the Classroom.......... 67
C. Peer Relations 74
D. Curriculum.......... 77
A State Controlled System.......... 77
Conflict with Japan 80
Gender Inequalities.......... 81
Human Rights Education.......... 84
E. School Organizational Relationships.......... 87
F. Parent and Community Involvement 91
G. Empowerment.......... 93

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.......... 101

A. Summary.......... 101
Human Rights Knowledge.......... 101
Teacher-Student Relationships 102
Peer Relationships 103
Curriculum.......... 104
School Organizational Relationships.......... 105
Parent & Community involvement.......... 106
Empowerment.......... 106
B. Reflection and Recommendations 107
C. Recommendations for Further Research 113

BIBLIOGRAPHY 114

APPENDICES 127

A. Letter of Intent to Participate in the Study 127
B. Letter of Parental Consent 129
C. Guarantee of Confidentiality and Anonymity 131
D. Interview Schedule 132

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

AI – Amnesty International
APCEIU – Asia Pacific Center of Education for International Understanding
ATA – Alberta Teacher's Association
CSMP – Colorado School Mediation Project
CRC – Convention on the Rights of the Child
EFL – English as a foreign language
EIU – education for international understanding
FKTU – Federation of Korean Trade Unions
GNP – gross national product
HRE – human rights education
IMF – International Monetary Fund
KICE – Korean Curriculum Institute of Evaluation
KEDI – Korean Educational Development Institute
KHR – Korean Human Rights Fund
KIYD – Korean Institute of Youth Development
KTU – Korean National Teacher's Union
NGO – non-governmental organization
NIC – newly industrialized country
NSL – National Security Law
SACS – Safe and Caring Schools
TNC – transnational corporation
UN – United Nations
UDHR – United Nations Declaration of Human Rights

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Setting

As a tourist in South Korea, one sees all the signs of economic and social modernization: business men and women are rushing to work while talking on their cellular phones, new buildings are being erected left and right, and big brand names from Europe, Japan, and the United States adorn shop windows and fill consumers' homes. However, if one were to have the opportunity to take a closer look at life in Korea, the differences between Seoul and New York would quickly become apparent. For example, it is more the rule than the exception for businessmen and women to spend 12-hour days at work without overtime pay. How else can a country get ahead? "Korea's miracle was built on development policies that favored the creation of Korean multi-national corporations which were supported by foreign lending, the U.S. military, and ruthless exploitation of Korean labor" (Davis, 1998, p. 319). Though it is progress to even see women in the workplace so frequently nowadays, it is rare to see a woman over 30 working anywhere other than in her own restaurant or clothing shop, since forced retirement upon marriage is still common practice in South Korea. (Korea Women's NGO Committee, 1995, p. 3) Crimes against women are many, yet social awareness and social support systems are relatively non-existent. (Korea Women's NGO Committee, 1995, p. 5)

These realities of social problems in the adult community are reflected in the lives led by Korea's children. For example, physical violence in the schools, between students and teachers as well as between peers, is extremely high. A 1998 survey stated that 62 percent of junior high school students in Korea had been victims of school violence. (Im, 1998, p.1) According to Im (1998), school violence is actually increasing and is becoming more drastic. Mental and emotional problems due to family violence and school pressure often lead teens to suicide. These problems have led to Korea becoming a country with one of the highest teen suicide rates in the world. (p. 3)

As Kim, H. D. (1999) discusses, school environments in Korea do not facilitate human rights. Not only are most students unaware of the fact that they even possess rights, those who stand-up for themselves by resisting the norm will become a target by both the students and the school. (p. 237) Since the entire Korean school system is controlled by the government, schools do not have the power to make any changes or exceptions in the curriculum. The focus of the curriculum in junior high and high school is on college entrance. Not only is the topic of human rights rarely discussed in any unit or lesson plan in Korean schools, it is the schools themselves that infringe the most on student rights. (Na, 1999, p. 147) Ellinger (1997) describes a typical day for a Korean student:

> The days are long for Korean students. High school students, for example, attend school from 8 am till 4 pm, but they return to study hall at 6 pm and do not leave before 10 pm… After study hall, a Korean student's day is still not over; many of them view an educational television channel or work on homework assignments from 10:30 pm until midnight. Others attend evening hak gwan – private institutes in which they receive supplementary academic lessons. (p. 624)

The life of a Korean youth can thus be described as anything but "fun" or "carefree". Youth are not only without the right to choose how to spend their time, they are living without the right to learn about and participate in their own human rights. As South Korea is consolidating its transition from authoritarianism towards democracy, it is timely to undertake research on issues of human rights. In particular, the role of schools as social institutions in promoting human rights for Korean youth deserves closer examination.

I was led to this research study due to my personal experiences as an English as a foreign language (EFL) teacher in South Korea over 1995-1998. My stay in Korea provided me with very meaningful opportunities to gain a deeper and culturally sensitive understanding of Korean schooling, culture, and society. In terms of human rights and human rights education, those personal and professional experiences alerted me to the ongoing challenges of promoting a culture of human rights and democracy in Korean schools. The receipt of a Sandy MacTaggart Award in 2000 provided me, therefore, with a timely opportunity to revisit South Korea to undertake this research study on a topic in which my interest had already been sparked by my previous sojourn. As a result, this study seeks to examine the views and perspectives of Korean youth on the human rights and human rights education experiences in their schooling contexts. However, prior to expanding on the research problem, it is pertinent to highlight the conceptual framework that underpins the study.

B. Conceptual Framework

The purpose of the study was to understand and explain the lived experiences of Korean youth in relation to their human rights. The three areas that the study focused on were those of human rights, human rights education, and human rights in the context of South Korea.

Human Rights

> The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) recognizes that "the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world." In the past, it was only political and civil rights that were recognized as being important, while economic, social, and cultural rights are now gaining more attention from the international community. Now more than ever, governments from around the globe are coming together to sign international peace and human rights treaties, and promising to create just and humane social systems where the dignity and rights of all citizens are considered equally. Though a great gesture, the biggest problem with these international agreements is the lack of an international policing system to ensure that those in power honor their promises. (Leckie, 1998, p. 37)

With the world growing smaller and people from varying cultural backgrounds unifying politically, economically, and socially, it is not surprising that disagreements arise in many areas of exchange. One such argument is that of cultural relativism versus universalism. Cultural relativists claim that due to the prominence of Western values in most international treaties and declarations, those in non-

Western countries cannot be expected to follow the requirements of such agreements. Those in Asia, for example, state that Western society holds the individual above the group, while those in the East value the community over the individual. This claim has been used over and over by Asian leaders to support their non-compliance with universal human rights covenants. The universalists, on the other hand, feel that a universal human rights agreement is far from impossible. In this regard, while acknowledging the role of social and cultural conditions, the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 upheld the basic universality of human rights as the best way to ensure equal rights for all people in every country. (Vienna plus five global NGO forum on human rights, 1998)

One international agreement that has attempted to eliminate cries of cultural relativism is the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Ratified in 1989 by a vast majority of countries, the Convention seeks to promote the rights of children, such as the right to basic needs, to speak freely, to be educated, and to play. Countries that ratify the Convention are also expected to educate their societies about the CRC, and create and enforce legislation to protect youth. States will also be held responsible for their actions or inactions through regular government and NGO reports on progress to the CRC Committee.

Another issue of great controversy is that of globalization. Modernization theorists promised undeveloped nations that through a series of relatively simple steps, their economies would begin to flourish, much like the economies of the North. (Dube, 1988, p. 23) Unfortunately, only a small group of elites in the undeveloped countries as well as North States and organizations (notably the business sector) have disproportionately benefited from such modernization and globalization. Though globalization was long believed to be the answer to all of the Third World's problems, the disparity between the rich and the poor, increased unemployment rates, cutbacks in public services, and destruction of the environment can no longer be ignored. (Brecher & Costello, 1994, p. 4) As Human Rights Watch (2001) states,

> [t]he scope of today's global human rights problems far exceeds the capacity of global institutions to address them. The problem is most acute in

> the global economy, where a disturbing institutional void frequently leaves human rights standards unenforced.

Many people in South nations are now beginning to listen to the warnings that critical theorists have been espousing for years – modernization through capitalism seeks mainly to strengthen the legal and economic positions of the elite, without consideration for the general public. (Ghai, 1999, p. 247)

Human Rights Education

While many children are still being denied education as a human right (as stated in the CRC), others are being denied human rights education. Reardon (1995) believes that "human rights education is intended to prepare the learner to become a maker of history, bringing values and concepts into lived human experience and changing the human condition toward the achievement of the 'good society'" (p. 7). An educated youth can bring compassion and consideration to a society filled with unrest and injustice. However, being that education usually takes place in the schools, the role of the teacher is extremely important. In-service training and workshops, materials, and a flexible and supportive curriculum are all key contributions to the success of teaching human rights in the classroom. Many educators, such as Starkey (1991), Osler (1996), and Reardon (1995) recommend the use of a holistic approach to teaching human rights so as to help youth to develop a true understanding of their own rights as well as those of others. The use of varying teaching techniques, such as active participation, debates, and role-plays all contribute to the youths' interest in and dedication to a lifetime commitment as human rights activists.

South Korea and Human Rights

South Korea's political history is not one that is famous for its triumphs in the area of human rights. Decades of authoritarian rulers taking advantage of the people to increase their own personal wealth led Korea to become a successful economic powerhouse, yet at what expense? While militant rulers, such as Park or Chun, used the education system to control and indoctrinate Korea's youth (Nam, 1994, p. 177), the country moved at unprecedented speed toward industrialization. Although Korea is now considered to be a newly industrialized country (NIC) and the government claims to be of a democratic nature, Korea's education system still follows the authoritarian pattern of the past. (Ministry of Education, 1986, p. 32)

Korea's centralized education system boasts a national curriculum focused mainly on English, Mathematics, and Korean, with classes in the periphery being slated as "unimportant". Students spend an incredible number of hours studying these three subjects at school, institutes, and home in order to succeed on the university entrance examination. (Eoh, 1999, p. 252) Neither the parents, nor the students, nor the teachers have any say in the lessons or the curriculum, as the government is the sole decision-maker on these matters. Unfortunately, it is not the government that suffers from this system; it is the children that must pay with their physical health and mental well-being.

Like many other countries, Korea signed the CRC, yet changes to the social and education systems that would help implement the principles of the CRC are slow to come. (Heon, 1999, p. 69) Korea is a very traditional society and hierarchy is at the heart of political, economic, social and cultural relationships. In such a system, it is difficult even to identify a child as an individual or as a human being let alone to allow a child to have his/her own rights. The present Korean government has made notable efforts in changing legislation on children's rights, yet most of society remains unaware of this legislation. For example, though corporal punishment is illegal in schools, it is still common practice. (Kang, 1999, p. 61) In order for the world to take seriously Korea's intention to ensure the rights of the poor, the weak, and the unrepresented, serious changes will have to occur across a range of social and economic institutions, including schools, rather than on paper.

C. Purpose of the Study / Statement of the Research Problem

Though the topic of human rights affects many people from different walks of life, the issues that I explored while in the Republic of Korea focused on the youth. I used the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) to guide my research into the field of human rights of high school students in Korea. The central focus of my research problem was the understanding of youth in South Korea regarding issues and problems of human rights that relate to their lived experiences in formal, non-formal, and informal contexts. A corollary focus was the role that educational procedures, relationships, and structures have played in influencing the youth's understanding and practices vis-à-vis their human rights. More specifically, the study sought to address the following major questions:

1) What meanings do Korean youth hold about the concept of human rights?

2) To what extent are Korean youth aware of their human rights?

3) Through their lived experiences in formal, non-formal, and informal contexts (school, family, peers), to what degree and how have the youth fulfilled their human rights?

4) Based on the findings of the study, how can education help to promote the human rights of youth in Korea?

D. Significance of the Study

South Korea's position as a newly industrialized country (NIC) has brought to light more than its revitalized economy. Information of human rights issues, such as the illegality of labor unions, ill-treatment of prisoners, and spousal abuse are readily available in newspapers and on the internet; however, information regarding the human rights of youth in South Korea is much more difficult to come by. Though South Korea has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, little research has been conducted on the post-ratification situation of these youth. This study will contribute to the literature available on South Korean youth, their knowledge of and encounters with human rights issues, and the effects that human rights education has on their lives. This study will also offer some educational suggestions to improve youth awareness and understanding of their rights.

E. Limitations

This study has the following limitations:

1) This study involves a cross-cultural context. The researcher is a non-Korean but this is moderated by the researcher's previous experiences with language and culture in Korea.

2) Since the researcher is not a fluent native speaker in the Korean language, she had to make use of an interpreter during interviews.

F. Delimitations

This study has the following delimitations:

1) Data gathering was confined to a four-month period.

2) Participants were chosen from only one city in Korea.

3) Participants were chosen from only high school students in Seoul.

4) Only ten participants were chosen for interviews.

5) This study focused on the rights of the child given its relevance to the sample involved in the study.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review begins with an overview of human rights, focusing briefly on its historical path and moving through several areas of conflict within the issue of human rights. In particular, the debate between cultural relativism and universalism, the controversy surrounding globalism, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child are discussed in detail. Following is an overview of human rights education, its goals and some possible strategies to incorporate human rights into existing school curricula. The review concludes with a look at the human rights journey of South Korea.

A. Human Rights

" 'Human Rights' is an expression that covers a wide range of aspects of human existence considered essential for life in dignity and security" (Koenig, 1998). Though it is political and civil rights, such as freedom of speech and religion and the right to be free from torture and arbitrary arrest, that are recognized by most people, economic, social, and cultural rights are as significant in creating a just society. Basic needs, such as food, shelter, education, health care, and gainful employment allow every member of society to secure a comfortable life and have an opportunity to contribute to the common good. Among the spectrum of human rights, some are widely recognized as absolute, such as the right to life and freedom from torture. Other rights may have limitations, since in order to respect the rights of other people, some restrictions need be applied to the freedom of one's actions. "By their very nature human rights are subject to conflict. One person's conscientiously held belief…can violate another's dignity" (Human Rights Education, 1999, p. 1). A key challenge for human rights treaties and conventions is hence to promote the right to practice and advocate for these differences.

According to Eide (1983), most international human rights conventions have several claims in common: All humans have the right to self-determination; the right to fundamental freedoms (e.g. beliefs, liberty, security, equality before the law, and movement); political rights (e.g. participation in government and universal, equal suffrage), social rights (e.g. health, education), economic rights (e.g. work, just remuneration, union organization, adequate standard of living), and cultural rights (e.g. language, religion, cultural development). (p. 105) Human rights, though required to be respected, protected, and fulfilled by the State, are not only the responsibility of "higher powers". Each person is obliged to do whatever possible to secure his/her own basic needs, as well as helping to realize human rights for all. Though no international convention on human rights still faces the problem of acceptance by all governments and States, progress has been gradual in integrating governance mechanisms to fully implement principles of international human rights laws into the domestic legal frameworks of States that have ratified these conventions or treaties. The protection of equality of rights and equality of dignity strived for in international human rights conventions "are essential for a world where human beings can live in freedom and where justice and peace can prevail" (Starkey, 1992, p. 188). However, states Leckie (1998), the translation of human rights law into concrete action has always proven to be one of the greatest challenges facing the human rights movement. (p. 37) In striving to meet this challenge, the United Nations declared 1995-2004 the Decade for Human Rights Education. (Tibbitts, 1996, p. 428)

A Brief History of Human Rights

"Greek religion and political culture provided the antecedents of claims to universal law that under gird our modern conception of human rights" (Devine, Hansen, Wilde, & Poole, 1999, p. 1). It was the likes of Plato and Aristotle, who studied the law, the state, and moral conduct to conclude that both lay people and leaders were responsible for ensuring justice and the common good under universal law. The Stoics followed with their belief in the existence of natural law, which was the foundation of the Roman legal system. In fact, the Roman ruler, Octavian, founded the first "welfare" system over 2000 years ago. Though slaves were essential to the Roman economy, there was a strict legal code on their treatment and even a limit on the amount of time that could be served as a slave. Laws regarding women and children did exist in Roman times, though their treatment was quite cruel.

The historic role of religion in the development of rights is clear. In fact, it was "the Judeo-Christian tradition [that] fundamentally shaped our modern conception of human rights" (Devine et al., 1999, p.10). After the fall of the Roman Empire, Judeo-Christian traditions became central to many European institutions, such as the monarchy and the ruling class. Human rights made its formal debut in 1215 by way of the Magna Carta, signed by King John of England. This Charter disassociated the church and the State and allowed all free citizens to inherit property and to be free from excessive taxes. Though the words "human rights" were not used at this time, the Magna Carta was clearly a Charter of Human Rights. Political and religious traditions in other parts of the world also made similar proclamations that are now recognized as human rights.

The concept and term "natural rights" again came into the forefront in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Philosophers, such as Locke, Hobbes, and Rousseau, believed that it was not citizenship, race, nor religion that gave a person *rights,* but the fact that he/she was a human being. Though many dismissed their ideas as radical, the quieter "natural rights" movement led to the explosion of *enlightenment* onto center stage. "Enlightenment philosophers…emphasized a deep belief in freedom as well as a conviction that human beings should be ruled by their own laws, not by rulers made such by the accident of their birth" (Devine et al., 1999, p.19). The English Bill of Rights of 1689, the United States Constitution of 1777, and France's Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 all include John Locke's argument that a separation of powers (legislative, executive, and judicial) could better protect the individual's natural rights. Devine (1999) states,

> the American Declaration of Independence was the first civic document that met a modern definition of human rights. It asserted universal rights and applied to the general population, included legal as well as moral obligations, and established standards for judging the legitimacy of the state's actions. (p .25)

Yet, as a forerunner of what continues to happen to this day, its statements here apply only to white men; neither blacks nor women were granted these universal rights.

The mid to late nineteenth century was flooded with human rights issues, which focused on slavery, serfdom, and brutality of working conditions, starvation wages, and child labor. Until the mid-twentieth century, human rights activism remained linked to political and religious groups that were often criticized for having their own agendas and thus, held little public interest. Some human rights movements, however, did manage to create social transformations. Labor unions, women's rights movements, and national liberation movements were a few of the groups more successful in bringing about change.

The twentieth century began a generation of conventions and declarations proclaiming the rights of men, women and children. The League of Nations was created in 1919, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948, the Declaration on the Rights of Children was introduced in 1959 and again in 1961. The creation of Amnesty International (AI) brought on the birth of the modern human rights movement, drawing on citizens' participation and advocacy. Though Amnesty International was and still is a respected human rights organization, many people were not satisfied with the limited goals of AI and branched-off into other areas of human rights. By the mid-1970s, a wide range of non-governmental human rights organizations had sprung-up all over the globe. Though philosophies, goals, and tactics differed between many of these groups, it was their willingness to communicate with one another that gave legitimacy and power to the human rights movement. Over the past three decades, the growth of NGO and other civil society movements has also been a catalyst in promoting awareness, concern, advocacy, and legitimacy of the human rights of specific marginalized sectors worldwide. A major example is the struggle to promote the human rights of women, in which international women's conferences played significant roles. Likewise, the recognition of the vulnerable status of children and the historical and ongoing marginalization of indigenous peoples has led respectively to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Draft Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples.

The French declaration of 1789 is believed to have been Karel Vasak's inspiration for the notion of "generations" of human rights. The first generation of human rights is comprised of civil and political rights; the second is that of economic, social, and cultural rights; and the third is that of solidarity or group rights. (Reardon, 1995, p. 8) One generation of rights does not replace another, but rather builds upon the rights of the previous generation. (Eide, 1983, p. 108) Since "[s]ome cultural traditions put a higher emphasis on the importance of duty to the community, seeing the identity of the individual as being a reflection of his or her place in the community", Eide (1983) believes that the "generations" of human rights, especially the first two generations, is "primarily based on Western experience" (p. 108). Therefore, warns Eide (1983), it is necessary to reflect upon the sequence of human rights concerns as well as the concerns about human dignity in other parts of the world if we are to succeed in creating global human rights education. (p. 108) Though many State leaders have signed and/or ratified international agreements to protect the rights of the world's peoples, it is the differences in culture, traditions, and ideals that have caused many promises to go unmet. One of the bigger walls standing between the words on the pages and the full realization of many declarations and treaties is the ongoing debate between *cultural relativism and universalism.*

Cultural Relativism vs. Universalism

"A country's legal code makes an important statement about what society considers to be acceptable behavior" (UNICEF, 1997, p. 2). Though this statement made by UNICEF is one that I agree with in principle, it must also be pointed-out that a State's authorities often ignore laws in favor of "tradition". For example, before the 1988 summer Olympics in Seoul, South Korea, the Korean government made "dog restaurants" illegal and forced all such restaurants to close, since the world was watching. However, immediately following the Olympics, though the eating of dog remained illegal, the authorities turned their backs while all such establishments re-opened under different names. Eating a dog that has been beaten to death in order to get the dog's adrenaline pumping is a custom based on the belief that it gives men the power and stamina of a wild beast – a tradition that obviously supercedes the law.

An entire country ignoring a law about eating dog may not seem as significant as say, ignoring a law about child abuse or child labor, but this is only one of the many laws being ignored in the name of tradition around the world. Is there a law against hitting children in schools in South Korea? Yes, of course. Is it adhered to? Not often. In a 1998 South Korean survey, 62 percent of junior high school students said that they had been victims of school violence. (Im, 1998, p. 1) Ten years following Korea's ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), tradition stands fast. Eide (1983) states, "while incorporation of human rights into a legal system is a significant step, it can nevertheless remain empty, or formal, unless the whole social, economic and political order is transformed so that it allows everyone an equal enjoyment of all the human rights. This is the stage of realization of human rights" (p.107).

Over the past few years, the claims of cultural relativism have been heard louder and more frequently than ever before. Government leaders are repeating the scholarly claims that human rights "historically and conceptually reflect Western values" (Brems, 2001, p. 4). Though it is rare for non-Western cultures to completely reject the Western human rights stance, specific rights or the classification or interpretation of these rights are often questioned. For example, though torture is prohibited under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and a country that practices female circumcision may agree with the UDHR that torture is wrong, the act of female circumcision may not be classified as torture by that country. (Brems, 2001, p. 4)

> Western-dominated… ideas, values, and worldviews are marginalizing other ideas about the human being, about human relations and about societal ties embodied in older and richer civilizations. It is a process of marginalization that could, in the long run, result in the moral degradation and spiritual impoverishment of the human being. (Muzaffar, 1999, p. 27)

This quote by Muzzafar may sound as though he supports cultural relativism and is against a universal human rights regime, but this is not the case. Muzzafar, like many others, simply believes that an international human rights treaty must evolve from a more just and holistic vision of human dignity – one must consider the traditions and belief systems of those not living in the West. Some, such as Bell (1996), while not supporting those who claim that "Western" human rights ideals cannot meld with non-Western circumstance, agrees that culture must be considered when creating a country's human rights code. "If the ultimate aim of human rights diplomacy is to persuade others of the value of human rights, it is more likely that the struggle to promote human rights can be won if it is fought in ways that build on, rather than challenge, local cultural traditions" (p. 652). The key then, is to carefully examine the moral traditions in varying cultures to find a common ground that a human rights declaration can be built upon. In this regard, Van Bueren (1998) believes that the CRC is one of the few human rights instruments that actually succeeds in balancing traditional values and international rights, since it was a product of international collaboration. (p. 19)

With "cultural relativism" being shouted from rooftops around the world as an attempt to legitimize human rights violations, it is Asia's voice that resonates the loudest against Western values. The concept of the individual holding rights above those of the community is one that Asian governments not only disagree with, but also claim not to truly understand. If this is the case, however, it is difficult to comprehend why so many countries have ratified both the UDHR and the CRC – for international acceptance?

> Asian and African leaders…formally adhere to the 'international bill of human rights' and defend democracy; at the same time, they assert that the meaning and substance of these doctrines have a different significance in their societies because of their distinctive culture and values. (Pollis, 1996, p. 323)

Furthermore, at the 1995 Vienna Conference on Human Rights, all countries, including those vocal on cultural specificities, agreed to the preamble re-affirming the universality of human rights embodied in the Universal Declaration and succeeding covenants and conventions. Clearly there is a contradiction in the position of such countries. Friedman (1999) states that the West's view of Asia as an "enemy of humanity" conflicts greatly with Asia's view of itself as a continent with solid values and great economic success. (p. 63) In fact, there are many scholars who agree that "[e]ven though each of these systems [in East Asia] continues to be plagued with vestiges of authoritarianism, the reformist direction is clearly evident and indicates a serious concern about democracy and human rights in East Asian societies" (Davis, 2000, p. 141).

With "tradition" being placed high on the list of arguments supporting government non-compliance with universal human rights, it is important to take religious traditions into consideration. Over the past several decades, the number of Asian followers of the Christian faith has grown significantly. Though Christianity is not yet considered to be a traditional influence in Asia, its origins are definitely believed to be rooted in human rights pedagogy and thus, affect all Christians, regardless of culture. Rendtorff (1988) explains that the responsible participation of the individual in the common good is at the heart of human rights and Christianity. (p. 38) "Religion is not called upon to rule the world or overrule it. But religious consciousness continues to contribute to finite human freedom and dignity in politics and society" (p. 45). Confucianism, on the other hand, though no longer considered to be a formal religion by many in Asia, has had and still continues to have a great deal of impact on the way that much of Asia views human rights. The goal of society, rather than that of the individual is considered to be most important, thus creating a controversy in respect to individual rights and freedoms. Rosemont (1988) suggests that

> for early Confucians there can be no *me* in isolation... I am the totality of the roles I live in relation to specific others... [M]ost of who and what I am is determined by the others with whom I interact, just as my efforts determine in part who and what they are at the same time. (p. 177)

Since Buddhism has been a major influence in shaping much of Asia's culture and traditions, it is difficult to ignore its principals relating to modern day issues. Peek (1995) emphasizes that "[w]hile Buddhism supports economic development on a scale that frees the masses from the struggle for survival, it does not favor economic growth unrestrained by ethical considerations" (p. 536-7). He also calls attention to a period in the early 1900s when the Japanese government went *against* the Buddhist nature of the country by asking the people to give-up their individualism for the betterment of the whole (p. 532), thus suggesting that less than 100 years ago, Japan was a society where religious traditions, such as Buddhism, recognized the dignities of individuals and their individual right to practice doctrines in a self-reliant manner. Likewise, as other commentators have noted, even when "human rights" is not an explicit concept in religious or traditional or "non-Western" cultures, there are comparable principles and norms based on respecting dignities that parallel human rights in practice.

Van Bueren (1998) states, "if international children's rights are to be more than a universal symbol then the disputes over universalist, traditional values and traditionally plural approaches need urgent resolution" (p. 17). We have clearly reached a point where we need to stop preaching the benefits of our perspectives and begin an open discussion on how to find the commonalities in cultural views of human rights.

Globalization and Human Rights

Globalization, in theory, was to be the "savior" of many countries and their peoples by creating a surge in dying economies and encouraging a new relationship among previously disassociated countries. However, it seems that the topic of globalization has caused quite a division between scholars throughout the world. Rather than being viewed as a solution to social and economic problems, Brecher and Costello (1994) believe that globalization has done more harm than good. The poor are becoming poorer, the rich are becoming richer, and the middle class is disappearing. With only a handful of people and corporations becoming extremely wealthy, the majority of people have been forced to face high unemployment, decreased incomes, cutbacks in public services, and destruction of the environment. (p. 4)

a) Modernization

Theories of economic growth and "North" models of development were seen to be the future salvation of the Third World. Globalization, however, is not a new phenomenon in world economic history. Especially after WWII, paradigms of modernization and development were implemented. According to Dube (1988), following years and even decades of failure, the simplistic unilinear theories describing steps towards the realization of development no longer carry much conviction. (p. 2) In the early stages, economists in the developed nations believed that through simple actions, undeveloped nations could steadily increase their GNP by about 6 percent annually. The trickle down effect of the country's GNP growth was expected to reach the general public through an increase in economic opportunities and jobs. This, however, was not the case. (Dube, 1988, p. 23) Rather, only a select few members of the elite were to profit from such efforts. Two agencies that were and are still heavily involved in supporting the trickle down effect are the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Many critical analysts and people's movements in both industrialized (North) and undeveloped (South) countries agree that the IMF and World Bank have had little if any success at doing anything other than increasing disparities and creating a dependent relationship between poor and rich nations.

> Officials at the IMF and other aid agencies constantly proclaim their commitment to international growth and development. Yet the result of the flood of grants and loans is impoverishment, indebtedness, and dependence around the globe. (Bandow, 1994, p. 15)

The IMF makes loans to governments while imposing a variety of policy conditions intended to improve the borrower's economic performance. As various analyses has shown, IMF policies favoring elitist development policies, structural adjustment, and other policies of globalization (e.g. liberalization, privatization) have largely benefited other local elites and global/North economic interests. (George, 1992) In its policies and practices, the IMF has paid little attention to issues of human rights violations by recipient governments and/or transnational corporations (TNC) active in these countries. Bandow (1994) states that "it is hard to take seriously an organization's claim to be 'pro-development' when it regularly pours large sums of money into the worst economic systems on earth" (p. 23). The World Bank is often accused of many of the same problems as the IMF. In its early years, the World Bank's goal was to encourage development, but now, says Bovard (1994), the Bank exists mainly to benefit the private projects of politicians rather than working for the betterment of developing societies. (p. 59) Much like the IMF, the World Bank shows little or no concern for the human rights atrocities that governments perform upon their poorest citizens. The World Bank's "aid" is intended to encourage governments to reduce their control of their economies, yet it actually serves as a means for them to increase their control. (Bovard, 1994, p. 67) "Some countries have benefited" from IMF and World Bank loans, says Bovard (1994), "but most of the long-term aid recipients have only ended up with heavy debt loads, swollen public sectors, and overvalued exchange rates. Instead of spurring reform, most 'aid' has simply allowed governments to perpetuate their mistakes" (p. 71).

b) Transnational Corporations

With transnational corporations leading the search for resources and markets in overseas locations, the path was, according to dominant economic thinkers and almost all governments, laid for a future of global economics and prosperity for the world. Unfortunately, the consequences of a globalized free market are not as bright as some supporters would have us believe. The market system is one that fights against the rights of most involved – the worker, the consumer, and the environment.

> As for rights, it is indeed true that certain kinds of rights, procedures, and the generality of rules have been necessary for the growth and operation of the market, and they do form an important infrastructure for the claims and enforcement of rights. However, the kinds of rights and procedures associated with the market are narrow, seeking for the most

> part to strengthen the legal and economic position of capitalists. They are not geared toward social justice or wide political participation. (Ghai, 1999, p. 247)

This individualistic market is not only incompatible with "traditional" societies, it is becoming more and more inconsistent with many present-day issues in the West, such as equality of women, respect for cultural rights of indigenous peoples, protection of the environment, respect for diversity, etc. (Ghai, 1999, p. 250)

Unfortunately, the relationship between TNCs and governments in developing nations ("South") is often characterized by inequalities or what is called structural violence. In pursuit of the almighty dollar, it is, regrettably, a country's trading and investment policies that lead many TNCs to support governments with a less than reputable history of human rights policies and practices. Osterfeld (1994) states that many TNCs must deal with giving bribes and extortion payments to politicians in countries with the most centralized and authoritarian political structures. (p. 302) As the economies in many developing countries grow more and more dependent upon TNCs, it is also becoming increasingly difficult for governments to control corporate actions. In fact, it is frequently the corporations that are directing the governments rather than the other way around. Often, governments are even paying for this situation when facing international human rights committees. Since it is only the States that are held responsible for violations against the International Bill of Human Rights, the private corporations violating human rights cannot be held accountable. (Pollis & Schwab, 2000, p. 215) Pollis and Schwab (2000) suggest, "[t]he precepts of globalization must be modified to incorporate human rights. Furthermore, an integration of the principles of cultural relativists and universalists should take place, which would lead to a less strident, less destructive globalism" (p. 221). Increasingly, many human rights NGOs have taken on campaigns to challenge TNCs' conduct in relation to human rights in various sectors like mining, apparel, and other resource and manufacturing industries. (Human Rights Watch, 2001)

In attempt to find some common ground in relation to human rights, some scholars in both Western and non-Western countries agreed or predicted that modernization and development in the newly industrialized countries (NICs), such as Japan, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea, would bring about a "true" understanding of individual freedoms and equal rights. (Pollis, 1996, p. 317) This was not the case. Rather, governments continue, year after year, to excuse their human rights violations by stating either that "political liberties need to be sacrificed in order to meet more basic material needs" (Bell, 1996, p. 644) or that "human rights...are dispensable in pursuit of economic development... (and) may be positively harmful to the kind of society East Asian peoples prefer" (Davis, 1998, p. 304). If either of these excuses were valid, the NICs would have reinstated human rights laws after achieving economic success – this has not yet occurred. Indeed, in the case of South Korea, its economic growth as a NIC was accomplished under a repressive political regime. Only with the successful struggles to restore democracy is it now feasible for South Korean peoples to build a culture of human rights.

De Sousa Santos (1999) points to the fact that 21 percent of the world's population, those in the capitalist countries, consume 75 percent of all the energy produced and thus, the gap between rich and poor countries is ever expanding. Violations of human rights in a wide range of South countries have reached overwhelming proportions. Furthermore, conventional notions of "progress" under modernization, and nowadays globalization, have ignored the vital issue of unsustainable and environmentally destructive growth. (p. 30) Toh and Cawagas (1990) understand that

> [m]uch violence, coercion, and repression have underpinned the growth of empires, ancient and modern, as well as the formation of nations. Whatever its benefits as measured in industrial, scientific-technological, and other modernization indicators, progress bears the stains of pain, misery, exploitation, and blood. (p. 2)

Therefore, say Toh and Cawagas, an alternative must be created -- one that will reflect human dignity, compassion, cultural sensitivity, and environmental care. (p. 2) Educating for peace and understanding is one of the most important steps to creating a world in which all peoples can live equally and harmoniously with one another and with Mother Earth.

Convention on the Rights of the Child

In 1979, the International Year of the Child, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was proposed by the United Nations (UN) – it was passed 10 years later. "The central ethos of the Convention is that children are equal in worth to adults, and this theme runs through each of the articles" (Fottrell, 1999, p. 171). Since every country wishes to be perceived as supportive of an international treaty that promotes children's rights, many States have not only ratified the Convention without careful consideration of international expectations, but have acted in ways that in fact are seriously in opposition to the spirit of the CRC. Essentially, the CRC recognizes that children constitute a vulnerable and often marginalized sector in many societies. The CRC therefore stresses the urgent need for State and private policies and practices that would enhance the rights of children, such as the right to freedom of expression (Article 13), the right to be free from physical and mental violence (Article 19), the right to have an adequate standard of living (Article 27), and the right to an education (Article 28). As the next section indicates, human rights education that is focused on children and youth clearly needs to include serious attention to the fulfillment of the issues of human rights as required by the CRC.

Throughout the past decade, many countries have introduced reservations to the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child. Schabas (1996) believes that reservations only serve to weaken the Convention and "detract from the protection of individuals which is the purpose of international human rights law" (p. 473). Though countries, such as Pakistan, the Syrian Arab Republic, and Iran have raised serious objections to several articles of the CRC, it is only Somalia and the United States that have refused to ratify the Convention. (UNICEF, 1999, p. 2) Those in opposition to the CRC, such as Francis (2001), may even believe that children are falsely being viewed as equal to adults in their need for humanist rights. "This vision, if given legal effect or legitimacy of any kind, poses a real threat to the authority of parents and to the integrity of the family" (p. 81).

In spite of these nay-sayers, the CRC has reached the highest level of acceptance of human rights law in the world, and the challenge now lies in translating the words on the pages into concrete actions. How many governments have considered the grave injustices that the children under their governance face each and every day? How many States have actually placed the laws of the Convention high on their list of priorities? For the States that have ratified the CRC, there has been ongoing debate over the manner by which their compliance with the Convention will be monitored. Saks (1996) considers this problem in some detail and concludes that to compare one country's progress with that of another may be unjust and perhaps,

> a more interesting and subtle alternative would be for a state to be judged in relation to its own goals – its targets for progress drawn along lines set by the Convention… but adapted to the particular state's cultural traditions, economic circumstances, and so on. (p. 1264)

Though Saks contends that it would be a difficult task, he suggests that the process a State goes through to ensure children's rights are protected is as important as the outcome this Convention strives for. (p. 1266)

In accordance with Article 4 of the UN's CRC, "State parties shall undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative, and other measures for the implementation of the rights recognized in the present Convention". The Convention recognizes that culture, tradition, and especially economics shall play important roles in the implementation of the CRC, and the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child will consider these issues when reviewing each State's progress on implementation. Under Article 44 of the CRC, all States are required to submit a report on their progress of implementation of children's rights within their territories. The first report should be submitted within two years following ratification and subsequent reports should be prepared for the CRC Committee every five years. It is expected that State reports shall be self-critical, stating both successes and difficulties faced in the implementation of the Convention. States should also specify areas of priority as well as future goals regarding children's rights.

> The theory behind reporting is that the process of preparing reports should serve as an exercise of internal analysis, which might prompt improvements in national law and practices. In addition, the scrutiny of these reports by independent experts should expose non-compliance with treaty obligations and such exposure and publicity should encourage change… Although the concluding observations represent the monitoring body's considered views of the treaty's meaning, and are steps necessary to effect that interpretation, there are no sanctions for non-compliance. (Theytaz-Bergman, 2000, p. 45-46)

The CRC Committee not only considers State reports, but welcomes information provided by human rights groups. Reports by human rights groups tend to be more critical than State reports regarding government success in implementation of the CRC. As requested by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, a non-governmental organization (NGO) from each State has carefully observed government compliance with the Convention in the years following its ratification.

Though some may believe that certain cultural viewpoints have been more represented in the CRC than others (Murphy-Berman, Levesque & Berman, 1996, p. 1257), the fact that 191 States have come together to ratify the Convention on the Rights of the Child is in itself an incredible feat. A global commitment to put children first is certainly an excellent starting point. However, upon consideration of articles and reports published by human rights organizations throughout the world, one cannot help but wonder when the governments that signed the CRC are going to begin to put into action the recommendations of the Convention. Many countries, such as the Philippines, are fortunate to have such a strong network of human rights groups that are committed to the rights of children, yet this is not enough. Though the Philippine government, unlike many other States, has restructured its national legislation to benefit children, policies cannot stand-alone. A government commitment to move words on a paper into action on the streets and in the schools is necessary if one is to believe that the State is truly dedicated to the success of the Convention. Government ploys to mislead the CRC Committee into believing that a State has succeeded in putting children first, not only in legislative matters, but in State funded programs and services, are extremely disturbing. Cries of "cultural relativism" may still be under debate, yet they too seem a weak excuse for malnourished, abused, and undereducated youth; especially when many of the cries come from countries that have participated in the creation of the CRC. Pollis (1996) quotes Allison Renteln as saying that "(u)niversalism…can be located not in rights notions, but in the fact that all societies have conceptions of morality, justice, and human dignity" (p. 320). Yet, government heads when confronted on their non-compliance with the Convention often deny even the basic comprehension of these concepts. It is obvious that the CRC, as well as other international conventions, needs the power of international law to ensure State compliance. Without the power of an international policing system, it seems futile to believe that the children most endangered in the world will ever receive the care and protection that they need and deserve. In the meantime, human rights organizations continue to voice the pain inflicted on the world's youth at the hands of their parents, their teachers, their employers, and their governments…

B. Human Rights Education

During the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, consensus was reached that

> Education is the single most vital element in combating poverty, empowering women, protecting children from hazardous and exploitive labor and sexual exploitation, promoting human rights and democracy, protecting the environment and influencing population growth. (UNICEF, 1999, p. 2)

As governments make feeble attempts to implement the CRC, many people, especially children, are unaware that they even possess rights. With the goal of education being the development of beings able to push the lines of economic productivity, human rights and moral issues are the first to suffer. (Misgeld & Magendzo, 1997, p. 157)

Reardon (1995) states that the goal of human rights education "is the formation of responsible, committed, and caring planetary citizens with sufficiently informed problem awareness and adequate value commitments to be contributors to a global society that honors human rights" (p. 3). A growing number of people worldwide recognize the importance of education in creating free and peaceful societies that discourage human rights abuses. Education has always been used as a tool of socialization, which can have either a positive or negative outcome depending on the moral structure of the society. The goal of emphasizing human rights education in the schools is to help students internalize human rights values and integrate them into their daily lives. Thus, society will reflect what is taught in the schools rather than the other way around. An appropriate pedagogy, say Osler and Starkey (1996), will allow students the freedom to identify and focus upon issues that hold a special interest for them. Students' creativity and imagination will be encouraged, as well as their abilities to be skeptical and critical. (p. 156) Human rights education cannot only build a free and peaceful society, it can prevent human rights abuses by teaching students empowerment. As young minds learn that people have control over their own lives and decisions that affect them, they will be encouraged to take action. (Human Rights Education, 1999) Toh (1991) states that "[a] world infused with peace, justice and compassion can only emerge when ideas, theories, and values are actively translated into transformative practices" (p. 124). Educating youth on human rights issues and practices is the first step to encouraging youth to commit their lives to creating a peaceful and humane world.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states that schooling is itself a human right. (Article 26, 1948) If people are expected to be familiar with their rights and those of others, as well as being knowledgeable about how to exercise their rights, the role of the teacher becomes key. Starkey (1991) feels strongly that there be many opportunities for teachers to update their human rights knowledge through frequent workshops and in-service training. (p. 35) Shafer (1987) stresses the importance of educational materials on human rights being available to the teacher (p. 204) and agrees with Reardon (1995) that human rights education should be worked into existing curricula in all subject areas and need not be restricted to higher grade levels. (p. 2) Each group of learners, whether they are adults or children, can learn the same material in varying degrees and using different methodologies. Inspiring interest and curiosity, as well as creating a personal connection with human rights education through active participation, will help to bring into being citizens involved in human rights issues. Drawing on the personal experiences of the learners can help them relate to the material and encourage them to carry their interest in human rights outside of the classroom. (Human Rights Education, 1999) "Our students already see, hear, read about, and even imitate violence, bigotry, and conflict of all sorts. Using a human rights framework, teachers can help young learners to make sense of them" (Schmidt & Manson, 1999, p. 1). According to Starkey (1991) there are four topics that should be covered when learning about human rights: i) the main categories of human rights, duties, obligations, and responsibilities; ii) the various forms of injustice, inequality, and discrimination; iii) people, movements, and key events -- both successes and failures, in the historical and continuing struggle for human rights; and iv) the main international declarations and conventions on human rights. (p. 30-33)

Like many others, such as Starkey (1991) and Osler (1996), Reardon (1995) stresses the use of a holistic approach to teaching human rights in the classroom. Not only can teachers infuse human rights into many lessons in various subjects, a class can examine the human rights situation in their own school and community. (Burch & Beauchamp, 1991, p. 15) Reardon believes that the first objective to teaching about human rights is to ensure that all students be made aware of the rights accorded to them by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international instruments for its implementation. (p. 4) Drawing upon the Convention on the Rights of the Child to evaluate one's own school would be an excellent way for students to make sense of Reardon's international standards approach to human rights education. (Osler & Starkey, 1996, p. 151) The Manitoba Human Rights Commission provides checklists in the areas of equality, justice, democracy, and fundamental freedoms to aid in school assessment. (Burch & Beauchamp, 1991, p. 19) Reardon (1995) states that the most common approach to human rights education being used at present is the historical approach. "Knowledge of the historical origins of human rights as the organizing principles of the good society is important to understanding the human rights movement as a dynamic, living human endeavor" (p. 7). Though the historical approach tends to be taught in isolation in Social Studies class, it provides students with the necessary background for further human rights activities and leads smoothly into the international standards approach. Another successful approach to teaching human rights is the reconstructivist approach, which demonstrates how human rights movements emerge, gain social support and produce changes in societal attitudes and legal systems. (Reardon, 1995, p. 11)

Although Starkey (1991) states that students should have the opportunity to study human rights values systematically, he also stresses the importance of learning through experience. (p. 22) Both Starkey (1991) and Burch and Beauchamp (1991) believe that a teaching style that involves discussion and allows students the opportunity to ask questions will be most successful in helping students to develop a true understanding of and interest in human rights problems and practices. The Manitoba Human Rights Commission states, "[i]t is through dialogue that the pupils can genuinely acquire the values in question and integrate them into their present and future actions" (Burch & Beauchamp, 1991, p. 110). Thus, debates are stressed as one of the most important instruments to be used to foster student awareness of human rights issues. UNESCO (1989) also recommends the use of experiential group-centered activities, brainstorming and role-playing as essential tools to be used in the active classroom. (p. 6)

It is important, however, that human rights education focus not only on the rights abuses, but also on the actions that can be taken to prevent such abuses.

> If students are to be empowered by the study of children's rights then they need to examine positive examples of the ways in which those rights are being secured, rather than the abuses of rights. A focus on human rights violations is likely to engender feelings of hopelessness and powerlessness. (Osler & Starkey, 1996, p. 146)

Making students aware of their rights and discussing ways to help improve the situation of children both at home and around the world will encourage the students to begin a lifelong role as human rights activists. In this regard, it is hopeful and inspiring to witness the emerging efforts of children and youth themselves in the active promotion and advocacy of their rights and the rights of other children worldwide. For example, the Canadian high school youth, Craig Keilburger, and his NGO, Free the Children, has done much to raise public awareness and action to protect the rights of child workers, especially in South contexts. There is also now a global movement of children organized to campaign on exploitation and abuse in the sex trade, child labor, and situations of war.

C. South Korea and Human Rights

Historical Background

Until approximately the 15th century, Korea was a pluralistic society in which Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shamanism coexisted. In 1392, "the introduction of Neo-Confucianism resulted in an absolute regime or orthodoxy" (Kwon & Cho, 1997, p. 325), ousting other religions. All structures of civilization were arranged so that society would internalize, reproduce, and perpetuate the Confucian way of life. Though the Confucian dynasty ended and a Western system was established "on the ruins", examples of Confucianist thought are still prevalent in Korea today. Generally, emphasis on secular life, especially politics, personal loyalties, familism, elite paternalism, emphasis on learning, and ascetic orientation toward achievement and simplicity can be found at the core of Korean beliefs. Yet, Korea did not remain untouched by Western influences, such as the view that the people are the ultimate owners of the country, the inclination toward nuclear families, the recognition of wealth as a permissible goal, and the prestige of business and industry. (Kwon & Cho, 1997, p. 326)

Korea's modern historical experience has been marked by the suffering and trauma of harsh colonial rule under the Japanese, followed by internal armed conflict and the destructive Korean War (1950-53). It also became a major zone of cold war tension as its post-World War II division into "North" and "South" brought the two states under the spheres of superpower influence. (Roberts, 2000; Halliday, 1977)

For South Korea, this resulted in successive governments and presidents backed militarily and economically by the United States, including the first elected president, Rhee, Syng-man, who ruled with an authoritarian hand. Kang, S. W. (1999) explains that "from 1945 to 1960, … [t]he concepts of freedom of thought and expression of human rights were seen as threats to national security" (p. 64). Though this and future governments appeared to be successful in containing inflation and expanding the economy, the South Korean public was extremely dissatisfied with military-backed rulers. As analysts like Halliday (1977) and Bello and Rosenfeld (1990) point out, economic modernization that resulted in South Korea attaining newly industrializing status (or NIChood) occurred through repressive control of the working class. Furthermore, "authoritarian leadership failed to recognize that public concerns had gradually shifted and that political or social performance became more crucial in affecting political support than economic performance" (Park, C. M., 1991, p. 760).

It was the *Student Revolution* on April 19, 1960 that facilitated the end of the Rhee regime and its "widespread use of torture and of indiscriminate brutality inside and outside the prisons" (Halliday, 1977, p. 22). The period of 1960 to 1980 found the government's plans of quick economic growth to be at odds with the people's demands for democracy to replace military dictatorship in South Korean politics. (Kang, S. W., 1999, p. 65) The Second Republic was based on a parliamentary system of government, but failing to produce social and political stability, was overtaken by a military coup led by Major General Park, Chung-hee. In 1975, General Park took action against democracy by supporting military and corporate Korea's best interests by amending the Constitution to better suit the elite minority. (Kang, 1999, p. 65) Park's 20 years of authoritarian rule ended with his assassination and the military-aided replacement by General Chun, Doo-hwan. Shortly after Chun proclaimed himself president, all forms of free press were banned or restrained. "[T]hose newspapers remaining open, both provincial and national, were subjected to a high degree of government control and restriction via the Basic Press Law enacted in December 1980" (Billet, 1990, p. 303). New labor laws were also passed, which all but forbid union membership in any union other than the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), which often acted in the best interests of the government rather than the workers. In 1988, a Declaration of Democratization was created by Roh, Tae-woo, and by popular vote, he became the first elected president of the Republic of Korea. This, however, did not mean that the Korean people were now safe from the human rights violations committed by the authoritarian regimes proceeding Roh.

In 1993, moving from Roh's "semi-authoritarian" control to Kim, Young-sam's reform programs focusing on social welfare enhancement, economic revitalization, and political reform was a gigantic step towards the democratization of South Korea. Kim's intentions to create a "New Korea" were to be met through the creation of a "kinder and gentler" government and the enactment of a "clean government" campaign. (Cha, 1993, p. 853) In order to gain the confidence of his constituents, Kim took measures to eradicate the authoritarian regimes of the past. The most prominent measure was the release of over 40,000 political dissidents who were imprisoned for holding views in opposition to that of the previous governments'. Kim also tried to further distance himself from past regimes by choosing government officials who were unaffiliated with preceding militant governments. These new officials were expected to follow strict policies, such as the required disclosure of personal assets, in keeping with Kim's promise to rid the government of corruption. However, the crash of the Korean economy in 1997, at the end of Kim's term as president, proved that corruption and illegalities in the government and business sector were far from being eradicated. Unfortunately, many saw Kim to be at the core of the problem. Kim, Young-sam's five-year term ended quietly in 1997 when Kim, Dae-jung's campaign won him the presidency and for the first time in history, a peaceful transfer of power took place.

As a pro-democracy activist, Kim, Dae-jung endured years of political persecution, imprisonment, and exile. Kim's incredible dedication to a democratic society, free from political restraint, restricted journalism, and human rights abuses was finally to be recognized when he became president of the 8th Republic of

Korea. One of Kim Dae-jung's campaign promises was to legalize the Korean National Teachers Union (KTU), which, along with many other workers unions, was outlawed by previous regimes, and in early 1999, Kim kept this promise. (Kang, S. W., 1999, p. 63) In 2000, Kim was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize "for his work for democracy and human rights in South Korea and in East Asia in general, and for peace and reconciliation with North Korea in particular" (The Nobel Foundation, 2000).

Eoh (1999) believes that one must look very carefully at Korean politics to discover that this "modern" entity is built upon authoritarian traditions. (p. 250) Kwon and Cho (1997) point-out the importance of remembering that it takes time for a social structure to change. Korea's history of Confucianism cannot simply be swept under a rug – rather, this will help to form Korea's future shape as a civil and democratic society. (p. 321) Though Korea is not considered by all to be a democracy, "the optimal diagnosis that can be made is that Korea is in the continuing process of democratization" (Kwon & Cho, 1997, p. 328).

South Korean Paradigms of Development

The phenomenon of the modernization of the newly industrialized countries at such a rapid rate is one that has created much discussion and controversy in the world of academia. Browett (1985) argues that

> economic growth and development in the NICs have been achieved through the spread of growth impulses – capital, technology, institutions and value systems – to them from more developed areas through aid programs, financial institutions, trade and multinational corporations. (p. 794)

In order for this to occur, says Browett, NIC societies and economies had to be organized along commercial, capitalistic lines. In the case of South Korea, it is difficult to deny that the government was at the root of the country's economic success with its strong role in mobilizing resources and manpower. (Lim, 1985, p. 28) Several other developing countries, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, also moved quickly to the status of newly industrialized countries by responding to public demand and government desire to invest in human and political capital through the rapid expansion of secondary education. As Morris (1996) noted, in South Korea, this move brought the secondary school enrollment to 95% by 1986 and propelled the country into industrialization. (p. 101) Hence, "[e]ducation can be interpreted as one of the social structures which needs to be provided as a basis for development or it can be perceived as a vehicle for transmitting those values and attitudes supportive of development" (p. 99). An examination of Korean textbooks over the past few decades clearly supports this statement by Morris, since each authoritarian ruler used public education to secure support for government reforms and ideologies. The main focus of several regimes was to make-up for Korea's lack of natural resources by increasing human capital and thus, increasing production and exports at whatever the cost to the citizens of Korea. Nam (1994) states "textbooks omit any critical evaluation of capitalism or democracy, focusing only on their importance for industrialization" (p. 176). Textbooks also, says Nam, disregard human rights issues in order to help the government maintain its power and control over society. (p. 176)

Although modernization lays emphasis on the ever-increasing use of science and technology (Dube, 1988, p. 27), it has often been pointed-out that South Korea, though extremely successful at accessing its human capital, is yet dependent on many other nations in the area of technology. As Browett (1985) suggests, Korea opened its doors to foreign investment and trans-national corporations, which provide technological know-how while using Korea's cheap labor to create and export their products back to the developed countries. The economic collapse in late 1997 of many NIC and aspiring NICs in East and Southeast Asia, including South Korea, was largely handled by IMF structural adjustment policies that increased further control of their economies by the IMF, TNCs, and North States. (Bello & Rosenfeld, 1990) According to some critical analysts, while modernization has brought citizens in the NICs like South Korea a measure of economic benefit, "modernization and development have previously been built on considerable exploitation of certain segments of the society and have involved a degree of ruthlessness... Their astonishing accomplishments have caused and are still causing considerable social injuries" (Dube, 1988, p. 5). In the case of South Korea, says McCormack (1977), many observers have shown concern over the "highly inequitable and repressive social order" that has been the cost of growth. (p. 57) With the government claiming the necessity of political repression in order to generate economic prosperity, McCormack and others show great concern. The value of an increased dependence on foreign capital, a decrease in wages with longer working hours for Korean laborers, and a human rights agenda on "hold" may not be considered "progress" to many Korean citizens.

Korea's Education System

a) Historical Context

The education system in Korea has a long history leading back to Confucian patrimonial states in feudal Korea. The ultimate goal of members of the gentry class was to pass the government examination in order to become civil servants. Success on this examination meant that all of the trials and tribulations faced prior to the exam would be considered worthwhile, as glory and wealth were bestowed upon the man and his family. A family's investment in an education for their son was considered the best way to ensure their economic future. (Cho, 1995, p. 145) Just as Koreans living in the Confucian dynasty gave precedence to their family's and society's needs and desires over their own, Kim, J. M. (1998) believes that "Korean culture places great emphasis on educating children to defer to authority, to respect people in positions higher than one's own in the social hierarchy, and to give priority to the group over the individual" (p. 948).

Following traditional Confucian values, the hierarchical relationship requires not only strict communication patterns, such as younger persons using honorific words when addressing older persons, but also requires subordinates to follow many rules regarding their relations with superiors. Just as children are indebted to their parents, Korean students believe that they are indebted to their teachers for imparting their wisdom upon the students. This traditional belief allows faculty members to control their students with "both legitimated authority and moral norms" (Lee, 1999, p. 11). According to Lee (1999), "the educational administrative structure still holds to the traditional model of authority and hierarchy, despite the economic and political changes" (p. 18). Clearly, these traditional values and norms in inter-generational relationships, and other interpersonal and social relationships, have significant implications for promoting human rights in South Korea.

Prior to the "forcible annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910" (Ministry of Education, 1986, p. 22), Korean leaders realized the importance of education to national modernization. In 1895, King Kojong established primary and secondary schools, normal schools, and vocational schools in all of the Korean provinces. During the 1930s and 1940s, Japan attempted to replace Korean traditions with their own through sheer terror and a tainted education system.

In August 1945, Korea was liberated from Japan and a new era of education had begun. The south attempted a democratic system with equal opportunity education and free compulsory primary education, which were laid-out in the Constitution in 1948. Again, this system was interrupted when war broke-out between the two Koreas in 1950. In 1954, South Korea picked-up the pieces by restoring educational facilities, training teachers, expanding compulsory education, strengthening vocational education, reconsidering educational purposes, and working on improving educational contents and methods. (Ministry of Education, 1986, p. 26) The 1960s saw a great increase in student enrollments and thus, growth in the number of educational facilities around the country. The primary focus of higher education in the 1960s and 1970s was to industrialize South Korea, thus increasing national economic prosperity. After 1975, expansion of higher education was inevitable due to the country's need for human resources to fill the ever-growing need for labor with scientific knowledge and technical skills. (Lee, 1999, p. 8)

b) Curriculum

Many, believe that the Korean government is still practicing a legalistic authoritarian pattern rather than a democratic participative pattern in regards to education. Since the Ministry of Education produces all government policies relating to education, executes the educational budget, supervises the boards of education, and creates the nationally controlled curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1986, p. 32), many Koreans feel that individual schools have been deprived of autonomy and diversity. The government, however, is quite comfortable with its role in this system, as education in Korea has been seen by its political leaders to have a much "greater purpose" than teaching children the 3 Rs.

> [E]ducation generally and the curriculum specifically are overtly harnessed through centrally controlled curricula to the task of inculcating a strong sense of social cohesion and cultural identity… A central goal of schooling is to promote patriotism and encourage support for the goals of national advancement. (Morris, 1996, p. 106)

Not only does the government control the curriculum of both public and private schools and institutions, textbook production is monopolized and textbooks contain government propaganda. (Cho, 1995, p. 157) As Nam (1994) has shown,

> textbooks construct a particular picture of the world which highlights or devalues information depending on the political agenda… (and) lack a balanced treatment of social inequality in class, gender, region and ethnicity… and not surprisingly, the textbooks neglect or reinterpret human rights issues. In this way, the textbooks are a tool in the service of ideology and are designed to maintain the status quo. (p. 176)

Nam's study found that Korean textbooks attempt to legitimize the government's intervention in capitalism while promoting national plans for industrialization. (p. 170) Cho, (1995) agrees that the government has always used the education system as a tool to maintain control over the Korean people and this, in his opinion, has been and still remains a success. (p. 158)

For many, the centralization of power deprives schools of enthusiasm for "a creative and rational approach to their operation." (Kim, Y. H., 1999, p. 59) There are so many compulsory courses in middle and high school, that students are overwhelmed – optional courses are limited and considered unimportant by students. "[E]ducational programs are so uniform that they are not responsive to individual differences in ability, aptitude, interest, or other personal attributes", says Kim, Y. H. (1999, p.61)

Considered to be one of the biggest problems with the Korean education system, the university entrance examination operates as the major determinant of what goes on in the schools. Though many are pleased with the country's rapid economic growth, and even consider the investment in human capital through education to be worthwhile, more than half of the students and parents are unsatisfied with the quality of education in Korea – particularly with the "examination hell". (Kim, Y. H., 1999, p. 55) There have been eight attempts to alter the entrance examination system over the past fifty years (Cho, 1995, p. 156), and yet students are still participating in an educational system that spends years preparing them for one single test. Not only have high schools veered off the path of true education, middle and even elementary schools are quickly following suit. Teachers drill students only on subjects that will be included on the college entrance examination, while all other knowledge and interests are ignored or forgotten. "Students are provided with neither the opportunity to acquire reasoning, critical thinking ability and creativity, nor the opportunity to nurture responsible moral judgments, aesthetic sensitivity, and character-building" (Kim, Y. H., 1999, p. 58).

In Korea, many futures are built upon the outcome of the college entrance examination. Of course, one's future career is dependent on whether or not one is able to attend a prestigious university, just as one's ability to marry well is dependent on if and where one went to university. Societal and family values seem to revolve around one pivotal moment at the end of high school. Eoh (1999) states that "[p]arents are so absorbed with the preparation of their children for the examination that they fail to develop in them such basic values as responsibility, compassion, cooperation, work ethic, and respect for the rights of others" (p. 252). In fact, parents are so obsessed with their children's success that they ignore all of the signs of stress, anxiety, and depression exhibited by most youth. Children hear again and again "while [you] sleep, others are studying" (Ellinger & Beckham, 1997, p. 625), knowing that failing this examination would be disgracing their family's honor.

This knowledge has high school students spending 16-hour days involved in organized classroom studies, after school institutes (hak-gwans), or private study. Even parents have some responsibilities relating to their children's examination preparation. Parents often visit teachers several times each year in order to present teachers with a token of gratitude (money) in hopes that their children will receive special attention from the teacher, or in the very least, not be abused. "Children of the poor, however, are ignored and abused at school" (Kang, S. W., 1999, p. 64). Parents also put a lot of faith in their religion at such times of need -- temples and churches are filled with praying mothers prior to the big exam. At Buddhist temples, mothers bow 3,000 times a night, while Christian mothers attend church to pray for 100 days before the entrance examination.

After years of belonging to a system that for so long dehumanized and alienated them, those successful on the entrance examination find that life is once again colorful and free from serious competition and anxiety. (Zeng, 1996, p. 270) The remainder of the high school youth must face a not-so-bright future that begins with informing their anxious parents about their failure on the most important examination they will ever experience. Unfortunately, all of this pressure has taken its toll on Korea's teens, both the successful and the unsuccessful. Cho (1995) explains, "all the children in the examination war are stressed and exhausted. Nervous breakdowns, suicides, and increasing delinquency are just small signals of the crisis that children are facing" (p. 154).

Human Rights Issues

As earlier noted in analyzing Korean political and economic development, the human rights of South Koreans in the modern, post-World War II era have been curtailed or repressed under successive authoritarian regimes. In pursuing rapid growth, democracy was seen by military-backed leaders as something to be postponed until economic "success" was attained. Thus, among citizens, workers have been one specific group subject to control and manipulation. Likewise, groups such as students, teachers, labor organizations, and many intellectuals and independent NGOs were harassed and punished for challenging authoritarianism. However, most pertinent to this study is the state of human rights to two groups: children and women.

a) Children

Though the present government in Korea is attempting to shift educational focus away from entrance examinations and toward democratization and promotion of human rights, "it is very difficult to tear down all the undemocratic and anti-human-rights practices in the political, economical, social, cultural and education arenas all at once" (Heon, 1999, p. 69). There are those who resist any major changes to traditional practices, many of whom hold positions within the government. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that children's issues receive very little attention by government agencies. Funding for most laws protecting children in Korea is made available as the national budget allows each year, rather than allotting these issues the money needed to create and upkeep ongoing programs. (Park, D. E., 1993, p. 191) These laws also tend to protect the parents or adults more than addressing the interests of the child, which is a requirement of the U.N.'s Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by the Korean government. Most welfare projects are not even operated by the government, but rather by non-government organizations. As of 1993, there were 329 non-profit organizations working with needy children. (Park, D. E., 1993, p. 193)

One of the main roadblocks to the success of many social programs aimed at the welfare of children is that Korean society does not recognize the child as an individual and does not see child abuse and neglect as a social problem, but rather as a family concern. In a 1992 nation-wide survey, it was found that nearly 87% of children were battered at home. (Park, D. E., 1993, p. 192) A 1998 survey stated that nearly 62% of middle school students have been a victim of school violence and 68% have caused school violence. (Im, 1998, p. 1)

> Students who misbehave in class or do not follow teachers' instructions or school rules receive corporal punishment. Only good grades and

> passing the college entrance examination are considered important while many inhumane situations are often justified and overlooked. Activities unconnected to studying are regarded as sinful. Extracurricular activities, including the homeroom period, club activities and student body government activities are for appearance's sake. (Heon, 1999, p. 70)

Though corporal punishment goes against legislation, it is still common practice in most schools. In fact, "caning is treated not as a structural educational problem but as exceptional behavior of overly enthusiastic teachers, even as an act of love" (Kang, S. W., 1999, p. 61). Few students or parents are willing to jeopardize a child's future by confronting a violent teacher or by filing a complaint with the principal. At the same time, teachers are not given a clear code of conduct to follow either by their schools or by their unions. The Korean Teachers Union (KTU) has taken the first step toward changing the violent nature of the school environment via their new principles of "good education", but as of yet no real progress can be observed. (S.W. Kang, personal communication, January 9, 2002)

Besides the mental and emotional strain of college entrance examinations and the all-too-common physical abuse faced by children in school and at home, students must accept that they do not have the right to privacy. Teachers and student monitors frequently conduct dress and bag inspections without student consent. (Heon, 1999, p. 71) A complaint is a very dangerous thing for students to consider, as speaking up for one's "rights" is highly discouraged.

Since Korean people are rarely educated about their human rights, they either don't understand what human rights are or they don't believe that they are included in the sphere of human rights. (Na, 1999, p. 146) As mentioned earlier, the government of Korea signed the CRC in September 1990 and ratified the Convention on November 20, 1991. By signing the CRC, the government agreed not only to create laws to protect Korean youth, but to make society, young and old, aware of these laws. In the government's second report to the CRC's Committee (Government of the Republic of Korea, 2000), it was stated that it has made the CRC generally known to both children and adults in Korea. (p. 7) The report also stated that the government has made child abuse and neglect illegal (p. 9/15/27/28) and that children's freedom of expression is guaranteed. (p. 18) Though an informed people is the first step to making changes, Heon (1999) believes that a society long unaccustomed to democracy and human rights cannot simply change with the creation of new laws and organizations. A society's history and reality must be taken into consideration when discussing the steps to be taken toward a just and humane civilization. (p. 72) Others may agree with Heon, but are beginning to feel the frustration of government policies and societal traditions that hold no regard for the needs of modern Korea.

> For the sake of economic growth, we have endured political dictatorship, economic injustice, social corruption and abuse of basic human rights. It is time to share society's wealth with others and turn our eyes to human rights and world peace. HRE should therefore teach not only human rights, but change people's attitudes and values so that they will have self-respect as well as respect for others, and transform a violent society into one that values peace, justice and human rights. (Kang, S. W., 1999, p. 67)

b) Women

In a country where the tradition of Neo-Confucianism still ensures that over 90 percent of Koreans prefer sons (Park, K. A., 1993, p. 140), it is not difficult to believe that women are highly affected by Korea's leap into development and democracy. The modernization paradigm suggests that the modernization process will remove traditional constraints on society and liberate the marginalized. Park, K. A. (1993) feels that "development has not improved women's status but rather has had an adverse impact on women, reinforcing traditional patriarchy or eroding whatever power and authority they had in the traditional society" (p. 128). As she noted, though Korean women have contributed a great deal to the country's economic development, they work longer hours then men, receive approximately half the wage, and are sexually segregated in occupations. (p. 134) Park also claims that South Korea's advantage in the world trade system lies in its willingness to provide low wage and unskilled youth and women for its labor force. (p. 131) Those women who are highly educated are still blocked from attaining many positions in Korean companies and are often discriminated against in promotion, placement, and on-the-job education. Women also face the widely practiced "forced retirement" upon marriage. (Yi, 1996, p. 3)

Not only do women not hold any prominent positions in Korea's political structure, the few laws that do exist to protect women from unequal treatment are found, much like those for children, working merely on paper. "Violence against women is too frequent and prevalent yet social awareness and social support systems are low… The criminal code on assault does not specify domestic violence, and the police, when called in for help, will not intervene" (Korea Women's NGO Committee, 1995, p. 5). This is the role model that many Korean children face in everyday life.

Recent Developments in Human Rights Theory and Practice

South Korea was admitted into the United Nations on September 17, 1991 and has since agreed to support several treaties and conventions. Prior to joining the U.N., Korea participated in several U.N. treaties. In December 1978, Korea ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. In December 1984, the government ratified the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. In April 1990, both the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights were acceded to by Korea. Shortly after officially joining the United Nations, in November 1991, Korea ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In January 1995, the government acceded to the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

In 1995, the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights suggested that South Korea's economic growth had not always been matched by it's protection of economic, social, and cultural rights. The Committee also commented on Korea's lack of commitment to creating an equal status between men and women and suggested that programs be developed to address this imbalance. According to the Committee, the government has ignored marginalized members of

Korean society, such as the poor, homeless, and those with severe physical and mental handicaps. "The Committee recommends that greater attention be given to the provision of human rights education at all levels of the school system" (United Nations, 1995, p.4). According to Kang, S. W. (1999), by ratifying the CRC in 1991 and subsequently joining the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1997, the Korean government is now "required to develop educational programs to promote human rights" (p. 66).

In August 2000, the UNESCO affiliated Asia Pacific Center of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU) opened in Inchon, South Korea. APCEIU's major goal is to promote education for international understanding based on values, principles, and strategies of educating for a culture of peace. Specific activities of APCEIU include in-service workshops for teachers, youth educational projects, and curriculum development, research, and sharing of knowledge among the region's teachers, teacher educators, and researchers. (S.H. Toh, personal communication, January 2002) Though the Center seeks to benefit all countries in the Asia-Pacific region, there is also a strong local focus. S.W. Kang (personal communication, January 9, 2002) states that Korea was the proper site for UNESCO's APCEIU. Since many countries are reluctant to follow Japan or China, the previous colonizers of many Asian countries, Korea's location and its history as a colonized country that has moved toward democracy makes it a relevant place to unite the voices of the Asia Pacific. The APCEIU has taken on the responsibility of giving teacher workshops on education for international understanding and on human rights education. The center has also held several conferences/symposiums on peace and human rights issues since it opened one and a half years ago.

Teachers, much like professionals and laborers throughout Korea, have a history of conflicts with the authoritarian governments. Following the financial crisis of 1997, the unemployment rate in Korea climbed to what was for Korea an incredible high of 9%, 3 times higher than before the crisis. Many Korean workers had to face the fear of losing their "secure" jobs, while others had to deal with pay cuts and freezes. "The so-called IMF crisis… shattered the tradition of lifetime employment to which Korean workers had been accustomed to for the past 30 years" (News Review, 1999, p. 24). In 1999, Korea's labor minister stated that the current labor relations were largely characterized by "confrontation… and battles over distribution, authoritarian control and pursuit of self-interest" (News Review, 1999, p. 24). Though laborers are, under democratic rule, more free to organize unions and to peacefully demonstrate their disappointment in government policies and layoffs than under previous authoritarian regimes, the police are still a strong presence at such events. While it is true that police brutality is less frequent than during previous regimes it is not unheard of.

Although there is still no official teacher code of conduct promoting student and teacher rights in Korea, in October 2001, the Korean Teacher's Union (KTU), the second largest teacher's union in Korea, created 10 principles of "good education". The principle most stressed was that those belonging to the KTU should teach human rights education. (S.W. Kang, personal communication, January 9, 2002) Though this goal will be a difficult one to achieve since the curriculum is presently so focused on the university entrance exam, both students and teachers will benefit from its success. On the same note, in April 2001, the Korean Congress passed a bill declaring the need for human rights education both within the school system as well as at any other government facilitated site outside of the realm of public education. This bill resulted in the development of a National Human Rights Commission, which was formed in November of the same year. (S.W. Kang, personal communication, December 2001) It is the responsibility of the Commission to research and survey the human rights abuses in government-controlled sites, such as offices, prisons, unions, and schools. The Commission is responsible for creating a report on all human rights actions and abuses taking place in these facilities. As this Commission is relatively new, there is no information on its success at this time.

Regarding the college entrance examination, in 1998, the government recommended that universities develop their own admission criteria and select new students based on their performance in high school, rather than selecting students based solely on their performance on the college entrance exam. However, most universities do not have the capacity to implement this system, and have chosen instead to continue using the old system. (Dahlman & Andersson, 2000, p. 62) Some universities, says S.W. Kang (personal communication, January 9, 2002), are starting to look at criteria other than scores from the college entrance examination, such as volunteer work and extra-curricular activities, when selecting new students. Hanshin University in Seoul is one such university. Some universities also prefer to recruit students from the alternative high schools in Korea, such as Pulmo Agricultural High School or Ghandi High School, as these students have experienced a much more open style of learning. The curricula of Korea's alternative high schools allow more opportunities for students to explore interests outside of the entrance examination, such as human rights and peace education. Unfortunately, many parents will not allow their children to attend such high schools out of fear that a non-college exam-centered curriculum would cause their children to miss out on attending a good university.

Though most non-governmental organizations do not enter the schools, they attempt to reach Korea's youth through teacher in-service training and workshops on human rights education. For example, Sarangbang is the most active NGO in the field of human rights education, working with teachers and students at human rights summer camps and workshops. Sarangbang also creates human rights education manuals for teachers and students alike. Another agency focusing on the human rights situation in Korea is the Korea Human Rights Fund (KHR), which was established two years ago. Though the KHR mainly deals with research and document collection and distribution in the area of human rights, it has also become well known for its yearly intensive human rights workshop involving most Korean NGOs. Amnesty International's (AI) Korean branch has been very active in South Korea for many years. Though AI is famous for its work in the area of freeing political prisoners around the world, AI is also involved in human rights education. Not only are the London-published AI human rights manuals widely distributed in Korea, students and teachers attend AI human rights-geared summer camps. The Korean Curriculum Institute of Evaluation (KICE) is well-known for its function as a research agency, but more recently, KICE and the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI), which is government funded, have turned their focus toward human rights education. In 2000, KICE published a large volume on the systemized orientation of human rights education, which offered suggestions on how to promote human rights education in schools. The results of another long-term human rights project will soon be available as well. Though UNESCO and UNICEF are not NGOs, they have both been extremely active in working together with Korean NGOs to offer intensive training for teachers in the areas of global education and education for international understanding (EIU). Through the work of noted peace and human rights educators like Professor Kang, Soon-won of Hanshin University, human rights education in South Korea has also involved collaboration with Japanese universities and the Osaka-based Asian Center for Human Rights.

Since May is the "month of the child" in Korea, many workshops, symposiums and conferences are held in the area of human rights education at that time. In May 2000, a conference was held in Seoul for human rights education in schools in North-east Asia. In the same month, the Parents Association and the Korean Teacher's Union held a symposium on youth human rights in schools. In May 2001, UNESCO's APCEIU held a symposium on human rights education for children. The Center also organized a conference on peace building and education movements in various conflict zones in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond in November of 2001, and most recently an Asia-Pacific regional conference on human rights education. Clearly, Korea has begun to develop a great interest in the well being of its youth and their human rights consistent with the CRC. Nevertheless, though the number of NGOs, workshops, and conferences all attending to human rights education have increased significantly over the past few years, Korea's journey toward becoming a society that holds a peaceful respect for its children remains a work in progress.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodology utilized in this research project. The introduction includes a description of the qualitative research methodology, which guided this study. Following is an acknowledgement of those whose efforts aided the study and an explanation of the selection of the sample. Next, a description of the sample and the data collection and analyzing methods are discussed in detail. Finally, the subject of ethics is addressed, followed by a description of the measures taken to ensure reliability and validity.

A. Orientation

The research was conducted using qualitative research methodology in the form of informal observation and interviews. Qualitative research methodology was chosen for this study because it allows the researcher not only to collect firsthand accounts of participant experiences, but also because it allows him/her to delve more deeply into those experiences with the participant. "The very lack of structure is what makes this type of research appealing to many, for it allows the researcher to adapt to unforeseen events and change direction in pursuit of meaning" (Merriam, 1998, p.20). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) explain that qualitative researchers observe people in their natural settings and attempt to make sense of or interpret the meanings of the information that people bring to them. (p. 3) Hence, it is important that the qualitative researcher be "adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks, ranging from interviewing to intensive self-reflection and introspection" (p. 6). The rich descriptions following an observation or interview take the coldness out of statistical data and replace it with the humanity behind the research, thus exhibiting a connection with and a deeper engagement with and understanding of the participants' perspectives.

Entry to the Field

The Sandy MacTaggart Award of the University of Alberta for studies and educational exposure in the Asian region (in my case, South Korea and Nepal) made this study possible. The research was conducted with the consent of the Korean Institute of Youth Development (KIYD) in the Ministry of Education and the support of professors at Chungang and Hanshin Universities. Initial introductions to key scholars and professionals interested in the topic of human rights of Korean youth were given by my supervisor, Dr. Toh, Swee-hin, who has been involved in initiatives for peace and human rights education in South Korea over the past four years. In particular, Dr. Kang, Soon-won, a professor of Sociology at Hanshin University helped to arrange a sample group appropriate to my guidelines, introduced me to various people and organizations involved in human rights, and made helpful suggestions for improving my interview schedule. Many organizations aided me in whatever way possible, such as the Korean National Commission for UNESCO office in Seoul, which allowed me the use of their library and UNICEF, which provided me with the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child booklets (in Korean) for my interview participants. A member of the leading human rights NGO, Sarangbang, introduced me to one of my sample group and arranged for me to access a copy of the Korean government and non-governmental organization's CRC reports to the Convention's Committee.

Sampling

Upon my arrival in Korea on September 1, 1999, Professor Kang from Hanshin University assisted me in compiling a list of potential students from both academic and vocational schools. This was very helpful since she has extensive connections with many high schools as well as her familiarity with many teachers throughout Seoul. The final sample of ten students was purposively selected to be attending their second year of high school and to have an equal number of male and female students. Differences in participant's family backgrounds, such as economic status, were also considered when selecting participants. The variation in school locations helped to ensure family background and past experiences at home and school differed.

B. Data Collection Methods

The qualitative research method, in the form of interviews and data analysis, was used in this study. A description of these methods follows.

Interviews

Interviews were chosen as the main form of data collection for this study, since they allow the researcher to follow up on a participant's responses to obtain more in-depth information. By listening to firsthand details of events that have already taken place and personal thoughts and feelings on issues, interviews add color and insight to specific topics. Merriam (1998) states "interviewing is necessary when we cannot observe behavior, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them. It is also necessary to interview when we are interested in past events that are impossible to replicate" (p.72). Semi-structured interviews also allow the researcher the security of an interview guideline with the freedom to follow the participant down unanticipated paths. Merriam (1998) explains that

> the largest part of the interview is guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, and neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time. This format allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic. (p. 74)

By first familiarizing myself with the human rights situation in South Korea through discussions with professors and those working with non-government organizations involved in both general human rights and youth rights, I was able to focus my interview questions more specifically on areas that would be most beneficial to this study. Interview questions were conceptually based on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which has been ratified by the Korean government. I proceeded with interviews after receiving both participant and parental consent and sought permission to audiotape interviews. To develop further questioning for follow-up interviews, I also made use of a research journal to note my thoughts or feelings on a participant or on an area of discussion.

While the 10 high school students were being selected from schools throughout Seoul, I conferred with Professor Kang on my interview guideline and prepared a brief *Participant Tracking Sheet*. The tracking sheet identified the student's name, age, gender, grade, school name, school type, phone number, and address. This allowed me to quickly compare student stats and ensure that a varied student body was being represented in this study.

a) Interview Participants

Of the 10 students who volunteered to be interviewed, 5 were female and 5 were male. All of the students were 16 to 17 years of age and all were in their second year of high school (grade 11). 4 of the participants attended vocational schools, while the others attended academic schools. Only 2 of those interviewed attended co-educational schools and the others attended same-sexed schools. All of the youth attended different high schools throughout Seoul.

Each participant was interviewed twice at a venue chosen by the participant and agreed upon by the interviewer. The first interview was approximately two hours in length and the second one was one to one-and-a-half hours in length. All of the interviews took place between October 15, 1999 and January 31, 2000. The interviews were conducted in the Korean language with the assistance of an interpreter. Though I have a certain level of proficiency in spoken and written Korean, the presence of the interpreter was important and helpful in ensuring that the interviews went smoothly and that the participants and myself were able to clearly communicate with one another. During the four months that the research took place, I used two interpreters with extensive experience living and studying overseas in Canada and the United States. Both interpreters have used English as part of their present occupations in the health care field and in public relations.

b) Interview Format

An interview guide was prepared and refined through discussion with colleagues and professors about the validity and reliability of the interview questions. Interviews initially began by discussing the student's general understanding of human rights, his or her access to these rights, and the manner by which formal, informal, and non-formal education empowers each student. With the knowledge gained from professionals in the human rights field in South Korea as well as from informal observations, I discussed relevant issues with each participant. Interviews were semi-structured in order to probe more deeply into participant responses. The preliminary interview responses were used to guide the nature of further interviews throughout the study.

Analysis of the data

Prior to leaving Canada, contacts were established in Korea at the Korean Institute of Youth Development (KIYD), in the Ministry of Education, at Chungang University in the department of Adolescence Science and at Hanshin University in the department of Sociology. Several of these contacts were consulted during the development of interview questions as well as during analysis of the data.

All first interviews were transcribed and verbally summarized for participants prior to beginning the second interviews. The participant then had the opportunity to confirm or deny the interviewer's understanding of the previous interview. All 10 participants were satisfied with the interviewer's perception of their earlier comments.

Data was analyzed throughout the study in order to aid me in determining the path the study would follow. Reflective analysis, "the process in which the researcher relies primarily on intuition and judgment in order to portray or evaluate the phenomena being studied" (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996, p.570), was used to analyze the data. My knowledge of Korean society from the three years spent there prior to this study aided me both in the development of the interview guideline and in understanding and analyzing the participants' responses. I made a special effort to consider the traditions and culture from which the participants were coming when examining the data as well as when I was drawing conclusions and making recommendations. My proficiency in written Korean also enabled me to draw on Korean language publications relevant to the study, including journal articles, newspapers, and policy documents.

C. Research Ethics

Confidentiality

A detailed *Research Ethics Review* application was submitted to and accepted by the Ethics Review Committee in the Department of Educational Policy Studies prior to beginning the interviewing process.

Though anonymity could not be guaranteed due to the need for an interpreter, confidentiality was guaranteed to all participants involved in the study. The identities of interview participants and their schools were kept strictly confidential. All interview participants were assigned a number at the outset and this number was used in place of names in data reporting and analysis. Only the interpreters and myself are aware of the true identities of the students participating in the study, and both translators are sensitive to the promised confidentiality.

A *Guarantee of Confidentiality*, signed by myself and the translators, was provided to all participants prior to the interviews. In addition, all students were required to have a signed *Letter of Intent to Participate in the Study*, as well as a signed *Letter of Parental Consent* upon commencing their first interview.

All interview notes and tapes were securely kept and only the researcher had access to them during field research. Following completion of the study, all notes were destroyed and all interview tapes were completely erased.

While a report of the study will be provided to relevant Ministry of Education officers and selected human rights education agencies, the text will fully preserve the confidentiality of the student participants.

Ethical Treatment of Participants

As stated by Mertens (1998), "(e)thics in research should be an integral part of the research planning and implementation process, not viewed as an afterthought or a burden" (p.23). It was extremely important that I be aware that the students interviewed may be uncomfortable about discussing certain issues or incidences concerning human rights abuses involving themselves or others close to them. Considering the position of youth in Korean society, it was essential that their concerns regarding their anonymity to the public be secured. The *Guarantee of Confidentiality* and a non-threatening interview location both aided in encouraging the participants to feel comfortable enough to open-up about sensitive issues during the interview.

Charles (1998) feels that research credibility and ethics go hand-in-hand. He lists three major principles that need to be followed in order to ensure the integrity of a study:

> 1) Beneficence. The principle of beneficence indicates… the researcher's aim is always to increase understanding and, where possible, to promote opportunity and advancement for the population at large.
>
> 2) Honesty. The principle of honesty is absolutely essential… (and) dishonest manipulation of data is inexcusable and renders the research meaningless or dangerously misleading.
>
> 3) Accurate Disclosure. The principle of accurate disclosure indicates that the individuals selected to serve as participants in research must be informed accurately about the general topic of research and any unusual procedures or tasks in which they will be involved. (p. 15)

I made an attempt to follow these principles in order to ensure the integrity of my study, both in the processes of interviewing and analyzing as well as in the conclusions reached at the close of the study.

Validity and Reliability

The validity of this qualitative study was enhanced in a number of ways by ensuring that the students were interviewed in a non-threatening environment, were clear about the nature of the research, and felt reassured that their identities would be concealed. These all helped the students to be more open.

The added issue of the validity of the translation also comes into play in this particular study. Two interpreters were used at different times, depending on availability, and neither of these interpreters were certified in this area. However, as the researcher, I was very confident in the English comprehension levels of both interpreters. Furthermore, due to my previous exposure in Korea, I was able to efficiently follow along with the Korean translation during the interviews.

"(R)eliability in qualitative research refers to the consistency of the researcher's interactive style, data recording, data analysis, and interpretation of participant meanings from the data" (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993, p.385-6). In attempt to create a more reliable interview, all of the student participants were initially asked the same questions from the interview guideline. In order to ensure that all participants clearly understood the questions asked during their interviews, the interviewer kept the language simple and the questions brief. The interpreters were asked to do the same. On several occasions, an example was given to the participants, in order to clarify the question and guide their answers in the desired direction.

The use of reflective analysis poses a problem for trustworthiness of data. With the researcher as the only instrument, bias may affect the way in which I interpreted the data. The use of log notes and audiotapes aided me in lessening the threat of bias. Member checks took place throughout the study to ensure that I comprehended the participants' comments made during interview sessions.

Charles (1998) suggests that reliability can be improved when a researcher compares several sources of data to check for consistency and carefully considers both the trustworthiness of those sources and the data collection procedures. (p.151)

The use of informal observations, interview sessions, as well as having frequent discussions with scholars and professionals knowledgeable on issues facing South Korean youth, improved the credibility of the data and reduced researcher bias. By taking notes throughout all interview sessions, I continually reflected upon student responses and possible unexplored avenues in order to direct the interviews.

In this study, I attempted to be sensitive to how bias and subjectivity could shape my interpretation of the participants' responses. Since Korean history, culture, and values differ greatly from my own, there was a danger that the data could be considered solely from a Western viewpoint. Denzin (2000) states that "all research is interpretive; it is guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world" (p. 19), and though I was the only analyst interpreting the primary data, I made a special effort to remain open-minded throughout the interviewing process and analysis.

Chapter IV

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES ON HUMAN RIGHTS

This chapter presents the perceptions and perspectives of youth participants on concepts of human rights in Korean society. Their narratives will initially be summarized, drawing on my in-depth interviews with the youth. For each dimension or theme, a critical analysis of these narratives will then be provided through the lenses of relevant secondary, theoretical, conceptual and/or empirical insights for the field of human rights and its educational implications.

A. Human Rights Knowledge

I opened each interview with a brief inquiry into the students' understanding of the term *human rights* and moved into how this concept relates to life in Korea. Though all of the students initially claimed to know the meaning of human rights, all were very brief when defining the term. The most common definition of human rights was simply "freedom".

I discovered that all but one student had heard of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) either in or out of the classroom, but could not recall any of its content. I also learned that only one of the students had ever heard of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). After further probing, it was clear that the students generally lacked systematic knowledge or understanding of the concept of human rights. None was able to show an awareness of the basic definition of human rights as the rights each person deserves by virtue of his/her status as a human being. (Human Rights Watch, 2001) Nor did any student describe human rights in terms of the basic categories of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. This lack of awareness and knowledge holds significant implications for promoting human rights education in Korea. As human rights educators have noted, it is essential that citizens are knowledgeable about what human rights mean as a first step in protecting and promoting their own rights and the rights of others. In sum, there is a need for Korean students to gain a more systematic awareness of the idea of human rights as they are progressing through school. In this regard, there are numerous resources available worldwide for integrating human rights ideas and principals from the earliest years of formal education. UNESCO's *Manual for Human Rights Education* (1997a), the United Nation's *Teaching Human Rights: Practical Activities for Primary and Secondary School* (1989), UNESCO's *Tolerance: The Threshold of Peace* (1994), the Manitoba Human Rights Commission's *Human Rights in the School* (Burch, 1991), '*Learning to Participate*' in Osler and Starkey's *Teacher Education and Human Rights* (1996), and Starkey's *Challenge of Human Rights Education* (1991) are just a few guides that can help teachers introduce human rights education into both primary and secondary classrooms.

Despite this lack of understanding of the generic idea of human rights, all of the students interviewed showed a degree of awareness of human rights violations in Korea. Several used the plight of the poor and violations against women as examples. "In the subway, there are so many beggars that people just ignore… I think that every person has an equal right to be educated, but these people are not given this right" (S1, 06/01/00). One student cited the lack of rights for the disabled, and several other students, as detailed later, could not ignore the human rights violations in their own schools. "Actually, the teachers teach us about human rights from the same textbook that they hit us with" (S5, 15/01/00). One student stated that the human rights situation in Korea is presently "a little good" due to the many laws and freedoms, such as freedom of religion, that Korean's enjoy (S9, 04/12/99), and another believed that a person's human rights situation was dependent upon his/her social status – "if you are rich, you can protect [or buy] your human rights" (S8, 23/11/99).

Most students, however, felt that the overall human rights situation in Korea is presently poor, with one student explaining that

> there are a lot of [human rights] violations in Korea, especially in school. The physical punishment is terrible and students do not have any way to protect themselves. Even though some students call the

> police to report this violence, the police do not have any jurisdiction in the school. Teachers and parents want to keep this violence quiet and out of the public eye. (S10, 12/12/99)

Their narratives reveal that the students do hold concerns about some dimensions of the human rights situation in their societal context, including schools and community.

The majority of students were unaware of any organizations promoting human rights in Korea -- though one student believed that human rights are being promoted in the schools, the remaining students did not agree. Several students, however, had seen programs on the news regarding human rights situations in Korea. One of these students pointed-out that "the president… organize[d] a special committee to work on women's human rights issues" (S1, 06/01/00). One student is actively involved in a youth group that frequently addresses youth rights, a couple of other students know of at least one NGO promoting human rights in Korea, but the remaining students were unaware of any NGOs promoting the rights of Korean people.

Clearly, in the area of advocacy and action to promote human rights, the students are still limited in awareness or commitment. In part, this reflects the relatively recent transition of South Korea from an authoritarian political system to a democracy. As a result, the human rights movement, which was previously suppressed, has only been gradually growing in public view in the late 90s. As human rights education is promoted, the role of NGOs such as Sarangbang, Korea Women's NGO Committee, and Korea Human Rights Fund will be very helpful in providing role models to the youth. Furthermore, a human rights curriculum should also draw on examples of international human rights advocacy like Amnesty International (2000) and Human Rights Watch (2001).

B. Teacher-Student Relationships

With more than 50 students in each classroom being the norm in Korean schools, it is not surprising that half of the students described their classrooms as being generally loud and chaotic, with only university-bound hopefuls listening to the teacher. As one student noted, "[n]o one pays attention to the teacher. Some students are sleeping and others are doing whatever they want – reading comic books, chatting to one another, etc" (S6, 07/11/99). Those students who described their classrooms as being quiet and studious tended to be in attendance at vocational schools. It seems to me that students, by not listening in class, are saying that they are not interested in the information that is being taught by the teacher.

Though noise and chaos may sometimes be the case in classrooms in the West, the description of a chaotic classroom is opposite to my assumptions of what a Korean classroom would generally look like. In my experience, children are taught to be respectful of teachers, and education and learning are considered to be of utmost importance in Korean society. Perhaps this rude behavior is a sign of rebellion against tradition or the strong academic push by teachers and parents has students at a point where they can no longer focus in the classroom. Ellinger (1997) describes the incredibly long days that high school students face and thus, says that they could not possibly be expected to handle their stress in obedient silence. (p. 624)

Others may feel that they have come to a point where their failure of reaching the ultimate goal – getting into university – is deemed impossible and therefore, they stop trying. Most vocational students do not even intend to attend university, thus, they have more opportunities to take classes of personal interest to them. This could account for their description of quiet classrooms filled with attentive students. As for the majority of students, Han (1988) believes that the state's authoritarian capitalistic leadership has damaged Korea's moral fiber, which, in his opinion, has affected student behavior. Han suggests that reactivating the traditional morals of loyalty, sacrifice, communal ties, and integrating them into today's democratic Korea would strengthen the country's educational program. (p. 22)

Competition in the Classroom

Those attending vocational schools either felt that cooperation was stressed over competition or that cooperation was needed for several classes. Only one student attending an academic school felt that

> [t]eachers emphasize co-operation more than competition. For example, there are many students from different levels in one class. In most schools, the lowest-abled students are left behind, but in my school, the teacher makes the higher students help the lower students. (S3, 12/10/99)

The remaining youths stated that competition, rather than cooperation, was stressed at school. "I learned about this [cooperation] in theory, but we've never practiced it. In Korea, we focus on university exams, which means that we have to compete. We also know that we have to compete in university, so practicing cooperation is not useful" (S10, 12/12/99). Even though competition keeps students studying in their classrooms from dawn until dusk, students realize the necessity of a competitive atmosphere over that of a cooperative one. As one student stated,

> [t]he higher the grade, the more teachers focus on competition... Competition is focused on even after exams – the teachers still push us to continue studying. They say that other students are still studying and they are our future competition in entering university. (S5, 01/11/99)

When speaking of "competition", students are referring to their attempts to get higher grades than others in their class, school, city, or province. The higher the grade, the better chance a student has of getting accepted at a prominent university in Seoul. Unfortunately, nearly 85% of parents and children wish for university acceptance, especially to Seoul National University, and only a small number of hopefuls are actually accepted. (Moon, 1998, p. 81) "Cooperation" is seen by students as an act that would likely cost students the edge needed to succeed either in getting higher grades than their classmates or in doing well on the university entrance examination. With few spaces available at top universities, students cannot afford not to compete. Vocational students, on the other hand, are not often planning on attending university and thus, the benefits of cooperation are seen to be much greater than solely competing with friends and classmates. As peace educators like Lynne and Burnley have stressed, teachers need to realize that there is a place in the classroom for both competition and cooperation. Lynne feels that "excessive individualism and rampant competition…do considerable damage to school kids, [especially] when they are made to feel that the 'best' is 'never good enough' when compared to their peers" (Toh, 1988b, p. 26).

The university entrance examination came up in discussions with all of the students several times, illustrating the preoccupation that high school students have with this exam. A note of fear and obvious signs of stress surrounded the topic, making it clear that changes in the system are definitely in order. As Kim, Y.H. (1999) noted, "[t]he Korean college entrance examination is so competitive that most preceding school education…has evolved into mere preparatory courses for the examination" (p. 58). As a former English teacher in Korea, I can verify the competitive nature of the school system, which is carried over into the rest of society. High schools are very lonely places, where each person must work harder than the next in order to succeed. I found it extremely difficult to engage my students in any kind of interactive lesson involving partner or group work, as these students had never experienced this type of exercise. Once I was able to convince students to at least attempt the activity at hand, students often lacked the necessary skills to manage the group activity.

Stressful days filled only with studying often take their toll on high school students even before the arrival of the university entrance examination. Many teenagers, unable or unprepared to deal with such tremendous pressure, suffer nervous breakdowns, demonstrate delinquent behaviors, or much worse, commit suicide. (Cho, 1995, p. 154) In fact, at the Asia Pacific Conference in Seoul, South Korea in August 2000, an excerpt was read from the diary of a high school suicide victim – the student wrote that he wanted to run away and kill himself because his school grades were poor. Unfortunately, that is exactly what he did. (Kang, D. G., 2001, p. 36) Though many may say that this is just an exam, Koreans think much differently -- this examination will decide a student's entire future. Moon (1998) states that many parents begin preparing their children for the college entrance examination as early as kindergarten, and they expect that the schools will put just as much emphasis on entrance exam material as parents do. (p. 81) It is easy to understand why teachers feel negligent if they attempt to initiate any discussions, lessons, or activities geared toward topics not included on the university examination or if they stray from reminding students that they are not on the same team. After all, many lives are at stake.

Competitive behavior honed during a child's school years has proven to be a great benefit to the Korean economy. Prior to the economic crash of 1997, and even after for that matter, Korea's industry competed its way to global success. This is not to say that everyone came out a winner. Many Koreans work 12-hour days for very little pay, while others line-up to compete for the few job openings available – these jobs are often below their level of education or expertise. (Brecher & Costello, 1994, p. 4) The market system, though careful to ensure the legal and economic rights of capitalism, has often put the rights of the worker, consumer, and environment much behind the goal of making money. (Ghai, 1999, p. 247) Therefore, as the Korean educational system turns out young adults programmed only to compete, some commentators are warning of the loss of values of creativity, caring, and humaneness in the next generation of adult citizens. Toh and Burnley stress that teaching youth to think critically and to challenge societal assumptions and values will not cause havoc, as authorities expect, but rather will help to create peaceful and democratic citizens. (Toh, 1988b, p. 27/28)

Inequalities in the Classroom

Of the half of the students who believed that they received enough personal attention from their teachers, several felt that this was due to their position on the student government. One student stated that "[t]here are three groups that get attention from the teacher – government, smart students, and class clowns. Other students' names are not even known by the teacher" (S1, 02/10/99). Incidentally, the other students comfortable with the attention that they received from teachers were enrolled in vocational schools. The interaction that the student government, academically high achieving students, and class clowns or students with disruptive behaviors have with the teacher means that these students are known or recognized. The attention that they receive means that their names are known by the teacher and thus, they are "special" in some way. To be special is what makes a student worthy of attention. The students belonging to one of these three groups are most fortunate, because they are more than a number to the teacher. This in turn relates to who in the class is thought of as a human being, worthy of recognition. The special attention given to some students also may not be a conscious decision on the part of the teacher. However, Moon (1998) feels that "because a large number of students with a wide range of academic ability are placed together, teachers may well despair of helping them all make equal progress" (p. 76). In a class of 50 students, the teacher may, as Moon said, believe that he/she cannot help everyone and thus, focuses on those students either with the most potential or those that make their presence hard to ignore (e.g. class clowns). This type of treatment of students, however, goes against the CRC's principle of participation, which should "be responsive to the needs of individual students and to the group as a whole" (Osler & Starkey, 1996, p. 154).

When discussing teacher/student relationships, several students claimed that their teachers usually treated everyone in the class equally. However, more students felt as though teachers treated students unequally and at times, disrespectfully. As one noted, "[i]f a good student does something bad, the teacher thinks it was an accident. But, if a poor student does the same thing, they will be punished" (S4, 20/10/99). Another student had a similar statement,

> [t]he teachers just think about students as children to be told what to do – they don't believe that we can think and make good decisions… [And] the women teachers favor the male students more than the females. When the boys do something bad, it's ok, but when the girls do the same thing, the teacher hits or punishes them. (S2, 05/10/99)

Many students interviewed realize that in Korea "children" are considered to be unable to care for or think for themselves and are thus, at the bottom of the societal hierarchy – a lesser person than those above them on the hierarchical ladder. These high school students want to distance themselves from the term "children", since it is believed in Korea that children cannot make the right decisions for themselves in regard to educational choices, study habits, and life direction. This terminology poses somewhat of a problem in that the CRC also uses the term "children" when referring to anyone 18 years of age and younger. Perhaps this terminology needs to be reconsidered.

These students are also recognizing the inequalities between "good" and "bad" students and male and female students in the classroom and are coming to understand that these inequalities lead to a difference in the way that particular students are treated by teachers and the unfairness that comes from this differentiation. Park, K.A. (1993) points out that in Confucianist Korea, males are still considered to be more important than females (p. 135), which may cause the teacher to carry a discriminatory attitude into the classroom, whether consciously or subconsciously.

Only one student believed that teachers always treat students with respect, while some felt the opposite, stating that their "teachers just treat us like children" (S6, 07/11/99). Another student expressed his views about respect in the classroom by saying that "teachers never treat students with respect, because they think that we are only material to compete with. When two schools compete or all of the schools in a city or the country compete for the highest grades or the most university entrances, the students are just objects that help the teachers or the school to win" (S10, 12/12/99). The other half of those interviewed said that at present, they were treated with respect by most teachers, but all could give examples of times when this was not the case.

Students see a lack of respect for someone as the same as viewing that person as unimportant. In fact, in this case, students believe that they are not even seen as humans, but rather as "objects" to be used in whatever way teachers deem necessary. Students are able to recognize that teachers do not care about students succeeding in school for the students' benefit, but for the benefit of the teacher. Therefore, students view themselves as being the least important part of the educational picture. This, of course, is not true, as without the student, the system would not exist. The fact that students feel that teachers do not respect them may have to do with the great pressures and few benefits that the teaching profession in Korea (as in many other countries) offers. Teachers, though thought highly of by society, are not able to "decide what or how to teach" (Kang, S. W., 1999, p. 63) and are presently struggling for their own rights. How one's class performs in comparison with other classes, schools, and provinces is a reflection on the teacher and his/her abilities – this type of recognition is one of the few rewards that the teaching profession has to offer. Another explanation for teacher behavior may be the fact that Korean tradition demands that teachers be put high on a pedestal, while students are placed very much below the societal position of the teachers. Respect for students is deemed unnecessary according to this worldview of societal hierarchy, reflecting the stray legacy of Confucianist doctrines and norms. "Students and their parents are expected to yield to the unquestioning authority of the teachers, which creates the relationship between teachers and students that is hierarchical rather than reciprocal" (Moon, 1998, p. 78).

Classroom Voices

Feeling that one's views are not respected makes most students afraid to share their opinions in the classroom. As one student puts it, "[o]nly good students have the ability to speak freely…however, even these students aren't really expressing their real opinions – they only say what the teacher wants them to say" (S2, 08/01/00). Others felt that only "bad" students could freely speak their minds in the classroom – "We can't express our opinions [in class]… The students with low grades – the trouble-makers – often express their opinions" (S8, 23/11/99). Another used Korean tradition to explain this restriction of speech – "It doesn't matter if the teacher is right or wrong. In Korean society, students cannot tell the teacher that he/she is right or wrong. The teacher would be very upset with that student for challenging him/her" (S1, 02/10/99). Only two students felt that everyone could comfortably express themselves in class – "[S]tudents express their opinions even if others tease them or disagree with them" (S3, 12/10/99). One student said that teachers often hold their permanent records, a running log on each student's behavior in school, over their heads as a punishment that "is too painful to the students… Most students choose to get hit in this situation in order to avoid a mark on their permanent record" (S1, 06/01/00).

Those interviewed often used the terms "good" and "bad/poor" students, by which they mean those with the ability to achieve high or low scores on examinations. If one has the "ability" to speak freely in the classroom, this means that they have the courage to give their opinion. This courage comes from the student's previous experiences that ensure that the teacher will recognize his/her opinion as valid. Whether or not the student who speaks freely in class is using his/her courage or not is questioned by students. After all, many feel that those sharing their opinions in class are merely saying what the teacher wants to hear in order to appease the teacher and keep their positions as "good" students. Those students with poor grades or bad attitudes, having nothing to lose, truly speak their minds, perhaps to antagonize the teacher. These "bad" students, according to Osler & Starkey (1996), are discriminated against since they do not match the presupposed norm or expectations placed on them by the education system, school, or classroom. (p. 155) Most, if not all, Korean children are raised to respect the strong tradition of hierarchy, and therefore, understand that their voices are the least valued in society. The majority of youth would not dare challenge this tradition for fear of the consequences. In fact, Korean youth have, in their short lifetimes, observed the power that the National Security Law (NSL) has given the state, and thus, have learned that speaking out against the norm can have serious repercussions. (Steinberg, 1997, p. 158) Though youth are told to compete as individuals on the university entrance examination and when applying for a job in Korea's over-saturated market, a group mentality is definitely encouraged when it comes to accepting the word of someone older or in a higher position than oneself. Although most Koreans do not consider themselves to be Confucianists in a religious sense, Steinberg (1997) believes that "virtually everyone is Confucian in some social aspects of life" (p. 151). He also believes that the forces of conformity are powerful in hierarchical societies, such as Korea.

When teaching in Korea, I experienced this hierarchical "respect" firsthand. Students were not at all eager to answer questions if the answer was not clearly printed in their notes or textbooks. Abstract questions requiring a creative reply were usually left unanswered. Students were delighted to hear my opinion and most rushed to agree with whatever I had said. Only after weeks or even months of interactions with a group of students were some students prepared to let their voices be heard – much encouragement and reassuring took place prior to this period. It is possible that in a classroom of 50 high school students, some are not afraid of the teacher's reaction, but of what their classmates would think of their non-conformist opinion.

Article 13 in the Convention on the Rights of the Child states that "[t]he child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds." Though there is not a law against freedom of speech for youth in Korea, the fear expressed by students when discussing the possibility of self-expression was very real. The unspoken rules of tradition stand fast.

Physical and Verbal Abuse in the Classroom

Though many students commented on the improvement in the way that teachers treat them in high school compared to middle school, most mentioned that the annual "surprise" bag checks as well as backpack spot checks for "bad" students denied students their dignity and privacy. Only one student felt that teachers always respected their dignity and privacy, while another stated that the teachers *this year* did so. Nearly all of those interviewed spoke of the frequent humiliation doled out by teachers. Students have been put in many humiliating situations. One was upset that "[as a punishment, we] have to sing and dance in front of the class" (S1, 02/10/99). Another common punishment includes both humiliation and physical violence, such as "[w]hen a student is not prepared for a class, the student has to get into the push-up position in front of the class and the teacher will step on his fingers with his shoe… The students are often hurt and feel very humiliated" (S6, 19/01/00). Often grades are read-out in front of the class, leaving the poorer students humiliated.

> The teacher is sometimes sarcastic when students are late or do something wrong in class – he also says 'how many times do you need to be embarrassed before you stop acting this way?' Students may be embarrassed, but they just become numb, so this doesn't really work at changing their behavior. (S4, 14/01/00)

One student stated that the punishments in school make students think about their actions, and it is the *actions* that cause students to be embarrassed rather than the punishments.

All of the students were able to share at least one experience when they were faced with a punishment from a high school teacher. However, most agreed that their teachers allowed them the opportunity to respond to the accusations of misbehavior before the punishment was given. Two students did state that their explanation was usually only heard during the punishment, while one felt that teachers did not offer students an opportunity to defend their actions. Though several students felt that punishments administered by teachers were equal to the misbehavior, over half of the students felt that school punishments administered by staff were often much greater than the misbehavior required. As one student recounted, "I was five minutes late once and the teacher hit me on the head with a book three times" (S2, 05/10/99). Another student was hit by his teacher "on the head with a big book – every teacher has a different style. Some teachers squeeze our cheeks very hard, but it's not a punishment, it's an expression of love" (S7, 17/11/99). Others do not see physical punishment as a form of caring -- "[Physical violence] is common – teachers often hit students with their fist or kick the students. Once a teacher kicked and punched a student all the way across the room" (S10, 12/12/99).

To say that every teacher has a different "style" of hitting students suggests that not only do all teachers hit students, but also that the way in which a teacher hits is much like his/her signature. When a teacher physically hurts a student, but does so with a smile or what a student views as a good intention, this is acceptable behavior. In most cases, students stated that misbehaviors did not warrant the punishments given and were therefore, saying that either the teacher is being intentionally unfair or cruel to students or the teacher has a warped view of the severity of students' bad deeds. Again, the fact that teachers' rights are poorly protected in Korea (Kang, S. W., 1999, p. 63) may be one of the reasons that they lash out at students more often than necessary. Growing frustration over student disrespect may propel teachers into physical violence as well. One must also keep in mind that many teachers come from a generation of "hitters" and may not see their physical punishments as abusive or unfair. According to Moon (1998), "[t]eachers think that they can use corporal punishment as a means of promoting learning…and any challenge of corporal punishment by students is unthinkable, [as]…students' rights or welfare are marginalized" (p. 78).

When students do something wrong in class, which is anything other than sitting quietly, looking attentive, and being prepared for the lesson, they must face what they see as the teacher's snide or cruel remarks while being made to stand-out in a room full of peers. Negative attention, whether physical or verbal, is something that students try to evade. Osler & Starkey (1996) comment that "[t]he student's right to dignity [in the CRC] implies a relationship between teacher and student which avoids abuse of power on the part of the teacher, including the avoidance of sarcasm" (p. 154). This type of humiliation is no longer causing students to alter their behavior, since students have become so desensitized by the frequent punishments and public embarrassments -- these actions have lost all meaning. If, as the students suggest, humiliation is not causing students to alter their actions or attitudes, it is difficult to understand why teachers continue to pursue these avenues of punishment. It may be that traditions or habits are difficult to break or that these methods help teachers to feel that they have regained control of their classroom. Recently, societal respect for teachers has decreased dramatically, and teachers may feel that to belittle the students is the only way for respect for authority to be renewed.

Since the government has been attempting to eliminate physical punishment in Korean schools, a new "card/point system" has recently been incorporated in many high schools in Seoul. However, this system is not well liked by the students interviewed. This system has students receiving a colored card or negative point rather than a physical punishment for each misbehavior and another colored card or positive point for any outstanding actions – according to several students, the positive points are much more difficult to collect than the negative ones. The students stated that the negative and positive cards cancel one another out at the end of a semester, and the results are documented in the students' permanent records – the records which students believe influence whether or not they get into university. One professor advised that these infamous "permanent records" are not very influential in allowing or denying a student access to higher education – rather, a student's ability to achieve a high score on the university entrance exam is the key to entering university in Korea. This professor suggested that these "permanent records", which are so important to high school students, are mainly a tool for teachers to keep students in line. A comment by one of the students interviewed rings true for all of those I spoke to: "I think that the minus points on our permanent records are too painful – I would rather be hit" (S7, 17/11/99). This just goes to show how much importance Korean students place on being able to enter university.

One student did, however, give the government credit for attempting to change the system by using green and yellow cards in order to improve punishments – "I think this is a good step" (S1, 06/01/00). Another student felt very positive about the existing system of physical punishment – "…the student always agrees with the teacher that they did something wrong and the student knows that they deserve to be punished" (S9, 24/01/00). Yet another student openly expressed more than she intended to about physical punishments in her school by saying that "some teachers do hit us, but they hit the girls on the hands and the boys on the hips or legs. It's not fair, but I'm a girl, so I feel ok about it" (S2, 08/01/00).

Students are clearly saying that non-physical pain is much more powerful than the physical. The minus points are seen as representing a blockade to future success – getting into university, getting a good job, finding a good mate, etc. To students, their permanent records symbolize all that is important in life and thus, what does or does not go into that record is of utmost importance to all students. My experience with the school system was mainly in the south of the country and the minus points system did not yet exist – physical punishment was most commonly used by teachers to control student behavior.

All of those interviewed appeared to be satisfied with some aspect of the present system due to their own position being more positive than that of some other students. One student believed that the new card system improved his school life compared to those who attended high school prior to this system. Another student felt that the present system of physical punishment was appropriate due to his position as a student who never gets hit. A third student could see the unfairness in the unequal distribution of punishments, but due to her position in the group that got hit less hard, she was satisfied with the system. These student statements make it clear that one should not rock the boat unless they are under it.

Even though most of the students interviewed attended schools with the card system, nearly all agreed that punishments still frequently involved physical violence. One of the students attending a "progressive" school stated that "teachers are given a special stick (1.5 cm thick) and can hit the student less than 10 times without gaining permission from the principal. If a larger punishment is necessary, the parent's approval will be sought and parents will be invited to the punishment" (S1, 02/10/99). However, most often parents are not contacted regarding a physical punishment, which is carried-out at the teacher's discretion – a practice that is widely agreed upon by the schools and the parents. According to one student,

> [t]eachers use a stick to hit students on their hands, head, legs and hips. [Once], it was a cold day and I wore a sweater under my uniform jacket. Every morning, the teachers and school monitors wait outside the school gate to check each student's clothes and hair, and the teacher saw my sweater. We're not allowed to wear sweaters to school. [I was hit] five times. (S2, 05/10/99)

Only two of those interviewed stated that physical punishment was not frequently used in the classroom.

Though "the traditional discipline model of 'investigation-punishment' is easy to operate without reference to essential principles, [it] has a relatively high potential for miscarriage of justice" (Cunningham, 1991, p. 97). School is the place where youth spend most of their time and thus, the place where they learn about justice, equality and peace. If a school does not have its own "due process", based on human rights principles, for dealing with problems and disputes, the moral development of students will be damaged. (Cunningham, 1991, p. 97) The fact that teachers are given a stick to hit students with is an open invitation by school authorities for teachers to get violent. It is difficult to understand why sticks are given to teachers when the government has made physical punishment in schools illegal and the government, as an alternative to physical punishment, has brought in the card system. Even though the U.S. Department of State (2000) stated that the number of reported cases of child abuse continues to grow along with public awareness of the problem (p. 8), by allowing the teacher to hit a student up to 10 times without gaining permission from the principal and parents is telling the students that a little violence is acceptable to adults and, therefore, all adult parties involved have a silent agreement that no problems (for example - angry parents, law suits) will arise from this type of situation. Also, the fact that there is a protocol for hitting a student more than 10 times means that there are situations that still warrant excessive violence. Having to discuss physical punishment with parents prior to this action does prove that society is changing, as is the amount of trust and respect that teachers receive from the public. Though most Koreans would agree that the level of physical and mental abuse in schools has decreased over the past 20 years, there are many who are dissatisfied with the level of violence that Korean youth presently face. After all, those being hit 10 times with a stick may not consider themselves fortunate that the teacher did not hit them 20 times. Article 19 of the CRC states that

> States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.

As a member of the United Nations and as a country that has ratified the CRC, the Korean government has created laws to protect children; in fact, prior to the CRC, the Korean government had established many laws concerning child welfare, such as the Labor Standards Law (1953), the Child Welfare Law (1961), and the Social Welfare Law (1970), to name just a few. (Park, D. E., 1993, p. 190) The problem in Korea now, as it is in many other countries, is that "[t]he fight against the maltreatment of children requires their becoming aware of their rights" (Burch & Beauchamp, 1991, p. 114) and depends on the government strictly enforcing this legislation.

With more than 85% of parents admitting to beating their children and all of the children interviewed claiming to have been hit by a teacher, many in recent times, it is not surprising that peer violence has become a very real problem of late. (Im, 1998, p. 1) The education system is doing exactly as intended – creating a replica of existing society. Without parents, teachers, and the government as role models, demonstrating respect, fairness, and humanity, children will learn only to reproduce that which already exists, rather than to strive for a culture of peace and understanding. Clearly, a key implication for human rights education in Korean schools will require adequate and relevant re-orientation of current student-teacher relationships and the need to practice respect and equity in these relationships. As human rights educators, such as Eide (1983) and Kang (1999) have noted, human rights education needs to begin with the building of a culture of human rights in classroom and school contexts, if youth are to be empowered to promote human rights in the wider society.

There were mixed feelings among the students as to whether or not the level of physical and emotional abuse of youth was improving in Korea. One of the shyer students said that "when the teacher comes into the classroom, I feel a little anxious, and when I have to talk to the teacher about something, I also feel uncomfortable. I never know if I may get hit" (S7, 21/01/00). Another student, who claims to attend a relatively violence-free school, made a strong statement about his belief that all Koreans use violence to control or punish their children – even the Korean government officials responsible for ratifying the CRC. "I think that the Korean government official who signed the CRC beats his child. If Korea followed these rules [of the CRC], it would be heaven" (S3, 13/01/00). Of those who felt that the amount of physical abuse in Korean schools had decreased over the years, all believed that it was the emotional/mental abuse that was still a threat to students' well-being. Being slapped on the face or pinched on various parts of the body may seem to be physical abuse to some, but many students felt that the humiliation involved in these punishments was much worse than the actual physical pain. Long scolding sessions during class, name calling, and being sent to the hallway to carry-out embarrassing actions, such as squatting and hopping up and down the hallway while holding their ears (similar to a rabbit), are examples of the degrading experiences described by most of the students. In the words of one student, "[g]etting slapped on the cheek or pinching the student somewhere on their body to make them flinch or calling the student bad names are just a few of the humiliating punishments" (S10, 12/12/99).

To feel uncomfortable or panicked at the mere presence of an authority figure, the teacher, says a lot about the state of students' minds for 12 hours of their day. Obviously, there is a negative history between teacher and student. Students see no logical correlation between their actions and the teacher's reaction, which puts students on edge. As educators who advocate positive and caring discipline environments emphasize, students need to be taught human rights and peace education in an actively nonviolent environment. "[I]f schools and other educational institutions are viewed only as agents of reproduction of the status quo and left unchallenged, they will be that much more effective and functional in helping to maintain dominant power-structures" (Toh, 1991, p. 128).

C. Peer Relations

Contrary to recent studies on physical violence among students, most of those interviewed stated that everyone in their class got along quite well. Students did say that though the classroom atmosphere was usually pleasant, there had been isolated incidents of student violence both during and after school. The much talked about problem of "wang-da" (outcast) students did not seem to be a problem for most of those interviewed or their classmates and only three students claimed to have a "wang-da" in their classroom at present. "She has a very unusual personality, so she doesn't fit-in", (S4, 20/10/99) said one student when asked to explain what qualities destine a person to become "wang-da". Only one student had ever experienced "wang-da" himself. "[L]ast year I experienced 'wang-da' because my mother is the principal" (S3, 12/10/99) and students were not comfortable to befriend a student in that position. When asked about how most students deal with problems such as "wang-da" or physical violence between students, all of the students acknowledged the existence of a school counselor, but stated that they would prefer to speak with a friend or teacher about these and other issues. Most students agreed with the statement that "[t]here is a counselor in our school, but students don't go there with their problems. I don't feel comfortable with my teacher or the counselor – I'm afraid of my private things becoming public" (S7, 17/11/99). One student's fear became obvious when he said that "[w]e have a school counselor, but it's not very helpful. If I go to this office, I think that the violence against me would increase, because I told on that person" (S10, 12/12/99).

None of those interviewed could give a clear explanation as to why a particular student is "wang-da" and another is not. To say simply that a "wang-da" student is "different" and does not act like everyone else says that this person does not necessarily have any bad or negative qualities that destine him/her to be an outcast. However, if one looks at society or more specifically, at Korean schools, it becomes obvious that "different" is frowned upon not only by the students, but also by school authorities. Students must all wear the same uniform, have nearly the same haircut, have their nails perfectly trimmed, and show no outward signs of individuality. For that matter, students are also discouraged from showing any inward signs of individuality. Therefore, to be a "wang-da" may be as simple as students explained – to be different. The students that I interviewed claimed that there was not a growing problem of students being isolated and ignored by their peers, yet many adults expressed that the number of "wang-da" students was getting out of hand. Since only one student interviewed had ever been classified as a "wang-da" himself, it is possible that most students are not observant enough to look outside of their own situation to see that others around them may be suffering. This suggests a need for Korean schooling and curriculum to integrate issues of "identity" in terms of respecting diversity and difference. As peace and human rights educators have noted, it is essential that all youth be given the tools necessary to resolve conflicts peacefully while retaining their integrity and individuality. (Alberta Teachers Association, 2001) It is also important that while youth develop a strong sense of "self", they also be encouraged to be sensitive to the feelings of those around them.

Again, students did not see peer violence to be a problem in their classes or schools, and perhaps, this is due to this group of students not being representative of the whole in this matter. Both the literature and several experts in this area have explained the seriousness of peer violence and how the number of students involved is on the rise. Moon (1998) explains that those students left behind by fast-paced lessons tend to feel inferior and frustrated. "[T[hey feel hatred and hostility toward the high-performing students, and are more likely to fall victim to temptations like student violence, vandalism, etc" (p. 77). When problems do arise, all of the students interviewed felt that their problem could not be solved, and would perhaps even worsen, if they went to the counselor's office. Trust is clearly an issue here – students are saying that they believe that the counselor/teacher would not be a good person to share their personal thoughts and experiences with, as their privacy would no longer be respected. The students believe that there are only certain adults that deserve their trust, and the counselor is not one of them. There is a very negative connotation related to this office and what going there would do to a student. Possibly, students feel that the negative consequences would come from the other student involved in the initial problem, since he/she would likely receive some form of punishment from the counselor or principal and would, in turn, return this violence upon the "tattle tail". We must remember that most of the students stated earlier that they feel that teacher punishments often exceed the misbehavior and, therefore, to turn another student in to the counselor or other school administration would, in the minds of the students, be an unfair way to deal with a problem with a peer. Being that students are reluctant to come to school authorities when faced with peer problems, conflict resolution skills, which can be integrated into an already existing curriculum, could be of incredible use to Korean youth. Conflict resolution skills, according to the Colorado School Mediation Project (CSMP), can teach students both the skills needed for negotiation as well as help them to actively apply these skills to the conflicts experienced in their own lives. Academic achievement also increases with the use of these new skills. (2000, p. 6) The Alberta Teacher's Association (ATA), has similarly implemented a project called Safe and Caring Schools (SACS) in 1996 in order to

> encourage school practices that model and reinforce socially responsible and respectful behaviors, so that learning and teaching can take place in a safe and caring environment. Achieving this goal requires the involvement not only of parents and teachers, but also of all the important adults in a child's life. (2001)

This project attempts to prevent the violent behaviors visible in some of today's youth and replace them with values and practices based on respect and responsibility.

D. Curriculum

A State Controlled System

Since the Korean school system is centralized (controlled by the national government), all of the school districts use the same textbooks and have a standard curriculum to follow. With the main goal of high school being the preparation of the students for university examinations, most students were unsatisfied with the content of their classes. It was repeatedly suggested that a student would need to attend a "hak-gwan" (institute) in order to develop any individual talents or to explore any personal educational interests. As one student noted, "textbooks are geared toward average students, so high level students need to go elsewhere for more education. Some really intelligent students get extra help from the teacher" (S3, 12/10/99). Those attending vocational schools agreed with this, but stated that there were more opportunities available within their schools for those with special interests or talents. One student said "I don't think this is possible for students in the public school system – those in vocational schools or in private art, music, or language schools have a better chance to develop their talents" (S8, 21/01/00). Another vocational student stated that

> if someone is very interested in computers, for example, that student can go to the counselor and set-up a private lesson with a teacher. Also, if a student hopes to get an athletic scholarship to university, he can join a special class after school or he will be exempt from certain classes to attend a sports class instead. (S9, 04/12/99)

Several students suggested that a decrease in class size would increase the classroom opportunities for exploration of topics of greater interest to each class and individual students. "There are more than 50 students and only 1 teacher, so there is an opportunity to develop individual talents only if the student is extremely talented" (S1, 02/10/99).

All of the students interviewed knew their place in the school system and understood how everything works. All of the texts and lessons are aimed at reaching those who are able to achieve relatively high grades. Those whose understanding and accomplishments are either below or above that of their classmates are either left behind or must find their own way of nourishing their desire for more stimulating information. Only those with extreme abilities can expect teachers to consider their education as important, and thus, only those students are deserving of teacher attention. As Moon (1998) noted in his research, "[t]eachers become oriented toward the small number of students who can keep pace with them… [and] those who fall behind usually cannot catch up" (p. 77). For most students, any special interests or talents will have to be developed with the financial help of their parents. These students can attend costly "hak-gwans" or hire private tutors to further their interests, just as the underachievers can use the same tools to help them to simply make it through the system. In this regard, Moon (1998) points out that schools have become a place for assessment rather than for learning and thus, "real education takes place mostly outside school" (p. 79). At present, parents pour over 9 trillion *won* into outside-school education each year. In the classroom, students understand that only the extremely talented or intelligent are important enough to warrant special attention or extra time from the teacher – others see themselves as insignificant. With expectations of talent being so lofty, most young people sacrifice any dreams before they even have a chance to develop. Moon (1998) believes that giving-up on developing their creativity and problem-solving skills means that students will focus simply on learning through memorization and comprehension, while their opportunity to develop their personality and character pass by. (p. 76) This situation has similarities with the realities faced by students with exceptional needs in North societies until recent decades.

Not unlike the systems in the West, the Korean Ministry of Education self-admittedly controls most aspects of education for the entire country (Ministry of Education, 1986, p. 32); however, though this form of centralized education in Korea has long served the purpose of ensuring that youth have a strong sense of social unity and cultural identity, many are beginning to question this system. (Morris, 1996, p. 106) Cho (1995) states, "education has been instrumentalized by the government as a useful mechanism to instill the dominant ideology and legitimize state power" (p. 157). Though this centralized system of education may have initially helped Korea to maintain a strong homogeneity in order to become competitive in the world market, at present, the same system may well be doing a great disservice to both the children and the country. While Korea's youth are forced to spend years of incredibly long and tiring days memorizing meaningless information for the university examination, the opportunity to become creative thinkers and motivated learners is passing them by. "[A]n important idea in human rights is the idea of the right of every one to develop all their human capacities regardless of their individual identities and personal characteristics" (Burch & Beauchamp, 1991, p. 120). The government's plan from 50 years earlier was to take advantage of Korea's biggest resource – the people. Steinberg (1997) warns that encouraging conformity and orthodoxy may cause stagnation in domestic and foreign policies and thus, retard international competitiveness. (p. 162) Though Korea has been extremely successful economically in the past 10 to 15 years, altering the educational system to create energetic, reflective, and socially aware young adults would have a positive impact on both the economy as well as the personal well-being of Korea's citizens.

Conflict with Japan

Many students said that they learn very little from/about varying cultural, national, and international sources/issues. However, the Korean focus on historical relations with and present economic status of Japan is very much a staple in the curriculum. Though more than half of the students stated that their texts and lessons encouraged acceptance of those from different backgrounds, nearly all of the students have learned "from History [texts], teachers, and television" (S6, 07/11/99) to dislike Japan and its peoples. One student argued that "[d]ue to the Japanese invasion of Korea, I don't feel very good about Japan [and] the texts and teachers never teach about acceptance" (S3, 12/10/99). Another student said that though his teachers agree with his negative feelings toward Japan, "nowadays there is globalization, so the teacher thinks that we need to get along with Japan, but we shouldn't forget what they did" (S8, 23/11/99). Yet another student went as far as to say that she "think[s] that the Japanese are evil" (S5, 01/11/99) and stated that teachers and textbooks do not attempt to change her opinion. Only one of the ten interviewed felt that lessons and teachers taught students to respect Japan and it's peoples.

With most of the students recognizing that their texts, lessons, and teachers encouraged them to continue their feelings of anger and hatred for Japan, it would not be surprising to discover that youth are internalizing the message that it is alright to have unresolved feelings of negativity. Students seem to have learned that the only reason that people put their anger aside is to get something from someone – in this case, to do business with Japan is good for economics, but we must not forgive or forget why we hate Japan. While teaching in Korea, I discovered that ill feelings toward Japan were both accepted and expected by the general population. This, of course, was very difficult to understand at first, as 50 years of freedom seemed a long time to me. However, once I had the opportunity to meet some of the people who had survived the reign of terror that Japanese soldiers brought upon the Korean people, especially the women, I began to understand that Korea was not yet ready to forgive.

Unfortunately, with hatred being passed down so effectively from generation to generation, it will take a major effort to break this cycle. The lack of a strong human rights model in the curriculum means that students cannot apply this discourse to help heal old wounds and move into a peaceful tomorrow. As peace educators have also emphasized, learners, whether youth or adults, need educational programs that encourage values of reconciliation.

Gender Inequalities

The students were equally divided as to whether or not they thought that the curriculum and teachers encouraged students to follow their educational and career choices. Half of the students felt that their teachers presented them with a future of possibilities -- "[t]he teachers always say that we should do whatever we want and that we shouldn't give up" (S9, 04/12/99). The other students, however, felt very limited in career choices. As one suggested, "[m]ost teachers are women – though they do not discourage students from becoming an engineer or doctor or something, they recommend typical women's jobs" (S4, 20/10/99). Incidentally, those who felt that they were limited in career choices were all females.

Students, especially female students, recognize the subtle messages passed-on by teachers and texts, saying that females should avoid a-typical women's jobs. By a-typical, students mean those jobs that are not socially acceptable for women to have. Jobs appropriate for women are those considered by society to be easier, more feminine, requiring less education, inferior, poorer paid, stereotypical, and less respected. To pass on a message that females should be striving for these types of jobs is saying that society does not value women or feel that they can contribute to the economy in any significant way. The truth, however, is quite the opposite. Women in Korea have been taken advantage of in that in the past and present, they work longer hours for less pay than men, and according to Cho (1994), this contributed to Korea's great economic success. "[T]here is a close relationship between the process of economic growth and the absorption of female labour in the period of rapid industrialization in Korea" (p. 102).

These students do not have a distorted image of what teachers, either consciously or subconsciously, intended to pass on to their students. The segregation of women and men in all aspects of life follows societal traditions and expectations and is exhibited both in the home and at school. In fact, it is incredibly difficult for women to even own land in Korea, since it is the first son that becomes the head of the family and heir to all that is owned by the family once his father passes. (Cho, 1994, p. 106) This tradition, and many like it, is slowly making its way onto the legislative docket for consideration. However, it is important to note that most public officials are men, and thus, may not be so sensitive yet to the challenges that Korean women face. Nevertheless, "the Ministry of Education recently announced that teachers who make gender-discriminatory remarks would be disciplined" (U.S. Department of State, 2000, p. 7). This includes statements that emphasize women's traditional roles in families or encouragement of female students to work for good marriages rather than embarking on careers after high school. Even so, after marriage, most Korean women will become housewives, and those "allowed" to continue working will likely be nurses, teachers, or possibly secretaries. Yet others will work out of necessity as street vendors or shopkeepers. (Cho, 1994, p. 109) Very few Korean women are doctors, lawyers, or politicians, and even if they had a passion for one of these professions, they would have to face many roadblocks on their journey through their careers. Although this is not a law in Korea, Yi (1996) explains that "forced retirement upon marriage…is widely in practice" (p. 3). I experienced this many times while living in Korea, as female colleagues and friends were torn between their excitement over a wedding proposal or a new baby and their disappointment over having to give-up a well-loved career. The men, on the other hand, had only to attend parties of congratulations when their personal lives changed direction. Men, however, are not entirely to blame, as Korean women also play a part in continuing traditions that keep their sex subordinate to men. Though the law bans fetal testing, it is frequent and the subsequent termination of female fetuses is common. (U.S. Department of State, 2000, p. 8) Women's preference to give birth to sons, who will carry on the bloodline, and mothers' unfair treatment of daughters, is the first lesson that Korean children will have about their placement in society.

Unfortunately, this is merely the beginning of a lifetime of lessons on gender inequalities in Korea.

A couple of students felt that both men and women were equally discussed in class. However, most students agreed that the curriculum deals much more with the lives, contributions, hardships and triumphs of men rather than women. They were, though, able to name one or two famous women in Korean history – many named 'Shin, Sa-im-dang', an artist and the mother of a famous scholar, as being one of the most famous women in Korean history. Another famous Korean woman named by students was 'Non-gae', who "grabbed a Japanese general and jumped off of a cliff" (S5, 01/11/99) in the fight against Japanese imperialism. 'Yu, Kwan-soon', "famous for leading the independence movement against Japan" (S9, 04/12/99), was also noted by a couple of students. Only two students, however, were even aware of the hardships, abuse, and inequalities that women in Korea and around the world presently face. Though some teachers would comment on specific incidences of extreme spousal abuse or the plight of women in the Middle East whenever these cases made the news, this was not part of the curriculum or a topic that reached a level of classroom discussion. "We hear about big issues, such as when a woman is raped and murdered, but small things like abuse and harassment is not an issue" (S3, 12/10/99). The remaining students were completely unaware of such issues.

When a student says that "abuse" is a small thing, one must wonder at what point something becomes big enough to discuss in class. Is it that anything less than murder does not warrant a discussion? By "abuse" I believe that students are talking about being hit, which they say is still a big part of their everyday lives at home and school. If being hit were such a normal occurrence, students and teachers would not find this important enough to be brought-up in class. In fact, if teachers did bring up the abuse of women in a human rights discussion, students would definitely be confused by the contradiction. Friedman (1995) points out that women's human rights advocates stress that the inaction of governments around the world make them indirectly responsible for the continued abuse of women. (p. 21) In addition, the U.S. Department of State (2000) reports that in Korea, "[a]ccording to women's rights groups, cases involving sexual harassment or rape generally go unprosecuted, and perpetrators, if convicted, often receive very light sentences" (p. 7). Between these subtle messages, possibly reported on the news, and teachers remaining silent about this on-going abuse, the public and the schools are teaching students what is and is not important in society as well as commenting on the place of women in Korean society.

It is understandable that today's History textbooks do not often discuss the place of women in Korea's history, since more often than not, women would have participated very little in life outside of the home. Even when women did partake in a historical moment, it was a man's world that would not have likely found a woman's story to be of enough importance to record. However, women in Korea presently face many hardships and inequalities that "are still not recognized as human rights issues" (Korea Women's NGO Committee, 1995, p. 5). Unfortunately, the lack of social awareness or concern for these issues has left women without the necessary legal or public support to take action against those responsible for violating their rights. The fact that many women's issues are not discussed in school textbooks or lessons merely reflects either society's ignorance on the issue or their wish to ignore the reality of the problem. Teachers, of course, cannot be held entirely responsible for leaving their students uneducated on women's issues, as they must follow the national curriculum.

Human Rights Education

Several students stated that they had never learned about human rights from the school curriculum. In fact, one student even felt that "the school system itself is against human rights... In school, they don't teach students that they have rights and students get punished for expressing themselves" (S10, 26/01/00). The others had encounters with human rights issues in Social Studies or Ethics class, but these topics were merely skimmed over. As one student put it,

> [e]ven though I was supposed to take a three year human rights program in high school [it lasted only one year], I wouldn't have studied for that

> class, because I'm too busy trying to get into university and human rights information isn't useful for the entrance exam. (S3, 13/01/00)

Of those students who had learned about human rights in school, only a few could remember any of the specific topics covered and even then, not in detail. "We talked about the equality of the rich and poor and how those in the government with power take advantage of people" (S4, 20/10/99). Two students simply stated that they learned that human rights were a gift from God.

All interviewed were without the experience of any human rights participatory classroom activities, field trips, guest speakers, or International Human Rights Day events. With little education and experience in human rights activities, most students have never been taught ways in which to protect their own human rights. "Teachers have to follow the curriculum and human rights aren't in it," said one student. (S2, 08/01/00) Another stated that

> human rights should be taught in school. The purpose of school in most countries is to create a better society, but this isn't the case, at least in Korea, and I think that it isn't even the right goal. The goal of education should be to develop better individuals who are living the lives that they want to live. (S10, 26/01/00)

One student felt that it was not necessary for him to be taught how to protect his human rights, "because my human rights are already protected…[by] the Korean law and the people around me" (S9, 04/12/99). Another even more optimistic student said that her human rights will be protected so long as she does her duty – to study. (S5, 01/11/99)

When one student pointed-out that "the school system itself is against human rights", he was saying how impossible it would be for the present system to include lessons on youth rights. How can the teachers teach students about human rights when their actions do not reflect the humanity that they speak of in class? By not teaching students about their "rights", the students feel that they do not have a voice, input into their present and future. If a student challenges the views of the teacher or goes against the grain in any way, he/she will face physical or verbal retribution from the teacher. Another student said that "human rights should be taught in school", meaning that the education system is lacking in this area and students are aware of this and left wanting. The students, though relatively uneducated on their rights, dream of living in a time when their individual goals and dreams, not society's, are the focus of education. However, a couple of students did not feel that the education system was doing them harm by leaving them uneducated on their rights. These students felt that their parents, teachers, and the law already protected their rights; they assumed that the adults in society would look after the best interests of the youth. With these students, absolute trust was apparent. The school system had succeeded in teaching a small percentage of students that not only do young people not know what is best for them, but that those making the decisions in society – the adults – are all trustworthy and without flaw.

Those interviewed have made it clear that only select information is considered important to students, and since human rights issues are not included on the university entrance examination, they certainly do not make the grade. Without an integration of human rights into regular subjects, the information will be quickly forgotten or ignored. Also, participative activities in any subject can help students to have a longer recall and clearer understanding of an issue. Reardon (1995) states that action-oriented curricula helps students to become "responsible, committed, and caring planetary citizens with sufficiently informed problem awareness and adequate value commitments to be contributors to a global society that honors human rights" (p. 3). Presently, Korean students spend hours in the classroom, listening to teacher lectures – very little interaction takes place. Students are expected only to memorize and regurgitate information, which may explain why so few students interviewed could recall what little they had previously learned in school about human rights issues. Dye (1991) warns that if human rights are taught as an isolated topic, students will see this as a subject matter that is completely unrelated to their own lives. (p. 106) Therefore, as Shiman (1991) suggests, "[h]uman rights education should be infused into the curriculum in a variety of content areas and should utilize the different resources and perspectives available in the school" (p. 190). Human rights education helps students to develop a repertoire of skills and concepts that can be drawn upon when attempting to understand human rights issues in different forms.

Article 42 of the CRC ensures that "States Parties undertake to make the principles and provisions of the Convention widely known, by appropriate and active means, to adults and children alike." While the Korean government has altered legislation to include children's rights, most children, their parents, and even their teachers are still unaware of these rights. Morris (1996) and Cho (1995) claim that the government would not attempt to teach human rights to youth, since this knowledge would work against their goal of controlling society through education. Though Heon (1999) believes that there is a long road ahead before youth will be able to fully claim their rights, he states that the government has been pursuing an educational reform in favor of democratization and human rights, yet "it is very difficult to tear down all the undemocratic and anti-human-rights practices in the political, economical, social, cultural and educational arenas all at once" (p. 69).

E. School Organizational Relationships

All of the students agreed that the student body has an opportunity to elect and participate in the student government. However, as one student noted, "if a student wants to be on the student government, they have to meet the minimum grade requirements" (S10, 12/12/99). Half of the students felt very positive about their student government's ability to bring about changes at school on behalf of the student body; however, the examples of these given by the students were clearly changes that teachers wanted rather than the students. As one student argued, "…the student government supervises the other students and catches them smoking, etc. We also discuss problems with the teachers after government meetings and teachers will consider our suggestions" (S1, 02/10/99). Another student verified this by saying that the student government members simply "do what the teachers want them to do -- they tattle on the younger students" (S2, 05/10/99). The other half of the students were divided between feeling that the student government has only a small effect on school changes and believing that the student government has absolutely no power to bring about school changes. "They [student government] do what the teachers want them to do," said one student. (S2, 05/10/99) Another is proud to say that her school government had brought about an important change for the students – "Once, we changed the rule about hair pins. Before, we weren't allowed to wear any pins, but now we can wear two" (S7, 17/11/99). Though a few students believed that it was possible for students to contribute to school and classroom programs and policies by stating their concerns to teachers, more students felt negatively about this possibility. "We speak, but the teachers don't listen" (S6, 07/11/99).

In many countries, including the West, the student government in a school rarely has the opportunity to fully explore all of its "supposed" functions; however, in Korea, the student government, according to the students, is often a tool to aid teachers in some of their duties – most often in the area of supervision. Teachers have created a middle management out of student government members and are using these students as a way to control other students. Most students also feel that the student government does not have the power to make changes in the school. The government has the ability to meet and discuss issues of concern and even to raise these concerns with the teachers, but it is unlikely that teachers take the suggestions of the student government seriously. "We speak, but the teachers don't listen" clearly states the students' knowledge that their words do not hold any power and do not matter – thus, youth do not matter. Though, as Osler & Starkey (1996) state, freedom of expression must have certain limitations in order to protect the freedom, security, and dignity of others (p. 155), this is not an excuse to ignore the voices of youth. It is extremely important that students be heard and have the opportunity to practice what they learn in the classroom. Steinberg (1997) believes that in Korea "[d]emocracy may have been taught as an abstract concept in the schools (conformity was taught in practice), but it was clearly undercut by observable events outside the classroom" (p. 157). Students need to make a connection between that which they read in their textbooks or see in the media and what happens in real life. The student government is one of the ways in which students are able to make this connection.

Though Koreans must pay for secondary schooling, most students were unaware of any youth unable to attend school due to costs. All of the schools attended by the students interviewed have a scholarship program available to those students who are unable to pay their tuition fees. Also, nearly all of the schools have a free lunch program for those in need as well as a program encouraging graduating students to leave behind their school uniforms for those first year high school students who cannot afford to buy a new one.

Unlike many other non-Western countries, education has played an extremely important role in the lives of Koreans for many years. A near perfect enrollment in primary, middle, and high school and an incredible equality of attendance for both girls and boys reflects the significance that society places on schooling. Primary school is free for all Korean youth and there is government-subsidized tuition for those who cannot afford to attend middle or high school. This knowledge has made the students interviewed believe that all youth start off on equal footing and, therefore, any inequalities or differences in achievement are not based on economic factors. However, the large classes and incredible competition lead parents to feel obligated to bribe teachers and send their children to expensive "hak-gwans" (after school institutes).

According to Cho (1994), even the urban poor spend a high proportion of their income (about 10 percent) on the education of their children. (p. 110) This is where the divide between the rich and poor children begins to take its toll on the economically disadvantaged students. The students who can afford all of the hidden expenses in the Korean education system clearly have an advantage over those who cannot – more attention and better treatment from teachers is only the beginning. Cho (1995) explains that due to limited government funding of public education, "parents are obliged to meet some of the major costs of school maintenance, which in turn invites parents to undermine educational autonomy" (p. 157). This lack of government funding to school facilities and poor teacher wages puts teachers in the difficult position of feeling pressured to follow the educational whims of those parents "supporting" them. The government does adhere to the CRC by ensuring that basic literacy levels are met (Article 28), yet with parental incomes directing the quality of each child's education, inequities will extend to higher levels.

All students in Korea are required to participate in at least one non-curricular activity. There are many clubs on campus and some schools even offer school time for club meetings once a week. However, it is quite common for students to be told which extra-curricular activity is most interesting or beneficial to them by their homeroom teacher, rather than being able to choose this activity for themselves. Some schools even designate students to a club by having them play a game or pick a number out of a hat. As one student commented, "we cannot be in the club that we want, because only three or four students from each class can join one club – we have to play rock, paper, scissors to win a place in a club" (S7, 21/01/00). Physical Education is also a class of great interest to many students, and is most often offered once or twice a week for 50 minutes, or in some cases, once every second week for the same amount of time. One student stated that second and third year high school students are not offered Physical Education classes, as it is expected that they only have time to study.

By not allowing students to join the club of their choice, students are getting the message that teachers deem their interests unimportant. Rather, a game of chance determines if a student's little free time is going to be spent enjoyably or wastefully. Clubs such as these seem to be for appearance sake only. If teachers and administrators truly wanted to relieve students of stress by providing an enjoyable break, they would find a way to allow students to join the club that most interests them. At any rate, students seem to prefer to use their free time to study, as Kim, Y.H. (1999) explains, extra or optional classes are considered unimportant by students due to their heavy schedules. (p. 60) Article 29 of the CRC states that "the education of a child shall be directed to the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential." Not even allowing a child's hobbies to be related to his/her interests denies that child not only of pleasure, but also of the education that the CRC insists that he/she deserves. To refuse a child the freedom to be involved in even the simplest decisions in his/her life is clearly against all that any human rights declaration stands for. The present system silently teaches youth that their voices cannot and should not be heard.

F. Parent and Community Involvement

Though most Korean parents are very concerned about their children's performance in school, less than half of the students were aware of a parent group existing at their schools. "Only the parents of the student government get together to plan school events", informed a class president. (S4, 20/10/99) "There is a mother's group, [with] five mothers from my class, [but] I don't know how often they meet," said another student. (S5, 01/11/99) One vocational student was aware of a link between his school and a local university – "[O]ur school has a connection with In-duk University's Computer Science department, and our school invites parents to visit the school at the beginning of the year to explain what the relationship is all about" (S7, 17/11/99). Other students felt that their parents and community were rarely involved in school activities, with the exception of parent-teacher meetings, which are often poorly attended. Many students stated that only the parents of the student government, the middle management or pseudo power of the school, were at all involved in school activities and events. It is as though those parents are considered to be an extension of their children and thus, are obligated to participate in school planning due to their connection to the student government. The planning of school events and fund-raising is often seen as a duty of the student government. Since students in Korean high schools are so busy studying, their parents may be expected to take over some of these obligations in lieu of their children. Parents involved in the activities of the school may also be using their involvement as a tool (or bribe) to help their children do well in or look better in school. Moon (1998) states that "[m]any parents believe that if they lose favor with their children's teachers, the children may suffer consequences; on the other hand, earning the teachers' favor may bring their children advantages" (p. 79).

There is a required "volunteering" that students take part in around the school community for extra credit. In the words of one student, "[t]he school encourages students to volunteer [by] helping the elderly or cleaning the streets, etc. [in order to] get better grades" (S6, 07/11/99). From the relationship between volunteering and grades, students understand that if they help, they will receive an external rather than internal reward. As for teacher-parent relations, half of the students felt that their teachers would only contact their parents if there were a serious problem at school, while several stated that their teachers never call parents at home. One student said that some "energetic" teachers call home for both positive and negative updates. (S1, 02/10/99) For the most part, the students' school lives and home lives still remain separate, with teachers rarely daring to get involved in parent decisions, and even though teachers are not as respected in the present as they once were, according to one student, most "parents would accept the teacher's word as the truth" (S2, 05/10/99) over that of their children. Nearly all of the students felt that a phone call home from a teacher would leave their parents extremely surprised and a punishment would surely follow.

Although parent-teacher relationships have changed in recent years, a rapport of trust, developed in Confucian times, can still be observed. (Lee, 1999, p. 11) Some may argue that the "trust" exhibited by parents for teachers is simply "fear" – if a parent challenges a teacher in any way, their child may have to pay for the parent's lack of respect for the teacher's actions or decisions. Others prefer to believe that the parent-teacher relationship, like all relationships in Korea, is based on hierarchy and the deserved respect that comes about from one's stature – teachers, though poorly paid, happen to be quite valued in Korean society. This relationship aside, the belief of youth that their parents would take the word of their teacher over the word of their child makes the youth feel as though his/her word is not as important as that of a practical stranger – the teacher. The child is deemed less important than the adult. In a time of conflict, the youth understands that he/she has no one to turn to, which explains why most of those interviewed said that they would not tell their parents if a teacher at school hit them. All feared that this would result in more violence on the part of their parents. The violent environment of the school tends to be paralleled in Korean homes. Youth are aware of this link and attempt to keep their school life separate from their home life in order to create some semblance of peace in their day.

It is possible that parents and the community have a much more involved role in school life than most youth are aware. Not only are students extremely busy with classes, homework and study hall, adults tend not to "bother" children with matters that don't concern them – even if these matters actually affect them. Korean society makes a clear distinction between age groups, and relationship expectations between these groups are clear-cut. Not unlike many Western countries, parents and children in Korea rarely share deep conversations and parents are expected to shield their children from "grown-up" problems so that they can focus on that which is most important – studying. Kwon and Cho (1997) explain that though Korea is less Confucianist and more democratic today than in the past, the relationship between parent and child is still very hierarchical in nature. (p. 328) Children are still viewed as objects owned and controlled by their parents and at present, parents in Korea expect their children to concentrate solely on that which serves their family the best -- their education.

G. Empowerment

As mentioned earlier, most students stated that they have not learned any skills for protecting their human rights in school and felt unprepared to defend their own rights. One student said "I don't think that the social system is set-up to help me protect my own human rights…I think that the school system needs to become more democratic [in order for this to happen]" (S10, 12/12/99). Another student pointed at the hierarchical traditions as the reason for the limited youth rights in Korea. "In Korean society, I cannot go against anyone older than me, so I am not able to protect myself" (S8, 23/11/99). Yet another student best summed-up the feelings of most of the students by saying that "I can defend myself against violence or something, but against other violations, I can't protect myself [because] I don't know what my rights are" (S3, 12/10/99). A couple of students disagreed with the majority, stating that "…if I do my duty to do what is expected of me, then no one will go against my human rights" (S5, 01/11/99). Another student said that "I have never been in a situation where I needed human rights, so I don't know [if I can protect myself]" (S7, 17/11/99).

The students believe that the social system is purposely failing them by not providing them with the necessary knowledge and skills to protect their own rights. One student relates democracy to human rights and points-out that the lack of the existence of the former in the school system means that the latter cannot exist either. The same student uses "social system" and "school system" interchangeably, exhibiting his knowledge that these systems function as one. For change to occur in the schools, change must first take place in society. Another student feels that even with human rights knowledge, societal rules would not allow youth to protect themselves. Those who make the rules and have the power to change them are all in a position of superiority to that of the student; therefore, students feel powerless. However, Eide (1983) is quick to point-out that "the human rights system requires that the state respects, protects and fulfills human rights" (p. 109). With enough social awareness, ordinary citizens will be more empowered to hold those in powerful roles accountable for their actions and inactions in regards to youth rights.

Only one student believed that he already knew enough about human rights from the little taught to him in school, while the remainder wished to learn more about their human rights, feeling that this information could play a part in their well-being. Every one of the students believed that it would be necessary for Korean adults to partake in youth rights education along with the young people.

> [Human rights education] is needed for all people – old and young. [It] teaches us that all people are equal. We all need to learn to protect our own rights and learn how to ensure others rights as well… Adults need to teach children about these rights and help children to protect their rights. (S9, 24/01/00)

Another student agreed by saying that "[b]oth adults and children need to learn these rights together. Since children need protection, adults need to know the rights of the youth in order to help children to protect themselves" (S4, 14/01/00). Though, many were somewhat pessimistic about the willingness of Korean adults to support youth in their struggle to secure their rights. One student felt "that adults would be unhappy with this [empowered youth], because they would feel afraid of the youth" (S6, 19/01/00). Another thought that "it's no use to try to teach adults about human rights – they are too busy to be interested in human rights of youth" (S3, 13/01/00). One student tried to explain that Korean tradition would not allow youth to be empowered:

> [N]o one will listen [to youth]... The youth of today will be the adults that lead society in the future, but we have to wait. In Korean society, the leaders are very old, so they think that teenagers don't have a voice. I think that this is impossible to change – when we are old, we can change the rules. (S8, 21/01/00)

When stating that human rights education is needed for all people, students are actually putting themselves on the same plane as the adults in their need for this type of education. To say that human rights education teaches "that all people are equal" means that the student realizes that she is also a human being, as human as an adult. Students understand that their own rights are important, but they also feel that they need to learn about the rights of others, just as adults need to learn about youth rights. This knowledge means that the students see themselves as significant, yet they also know that they must remain aware of others when claiming their rights. Eide (1983) affirms this responsibility by stating that "[i]ndividuals are obliged not only to do what is within their power to secure their own basic needs, but they are also obliged to participate in common endeavours...in order to realize human rights for all" (p. 107). This, of course, also applies to the role that adults have in ensuring the rights of youth. Many students stated that they needed adults to help them protect their rights, which says that students recognize their own vulnerability and may require defending by an adult who has their best interests in mind. This, of course, requires that youth be able to trust adults to be both informed on youth rights and prepared to take a stand for youth. Though students see the need for youth human rights education for all, they also believe that knowledge is power and those who already have it – the adults – do not want to relinquish it.

Kim, J.M. (1998) states that in Korea there is a "great emphasis on educating children to defer to authority, to respect people in positions higher than one's own in the social hierarchy, and to give priority to the group over the individual" (p. 948). Even Korean language has a hierarchical structure, where subordinates or youth must use honorific words when speaking to those in positions higher than their own or to those older than themselves. (Lee, 1999, p. 11) Children are trained from birth to honor their position in society in all aspects of life, whether dealing with relationships of friendship, family, or co-workers. In fact, children move from observing the dynamics between their father, the head of household, and mother, the obedient, selfless caregiver, to observing the position of their teachers within one of the greatest systems of hierarchy – the school. These observations and interactions have taught students that to be educated on youth rights would likely make adults in Korea extremely uncomfortable, since this type of education may be seen as a way of encouraging youth to challenge the status quo.

When commenting on the principles of the CRC and their effect on youth life in Korea, most felt that the CRC had yet to be incorporated into society. Only one student felt at all positive about the direction of human rights education in Korea. In his view, "[though] I've never learned about the CRC, I've learned about human rights… [In fact], I think that the only thing that the Korean government does well in ensuring [from the CRC] is that youth have the right to learn about human rights" (S9, 24/01/00). Another student stated that though "students are conscious of these kinds of ideas [in the CRC], they don't know that the CRC exists" (S1, 06/01/00). Yet another student verified this by saying "I know that many of these rules have been put into the constitution, but that's not enough to cause changes in real life. These rules need to be laws that everyone knows about and they need to be enforced" (S10, 26/01/00). Though there have been great changes over the years in regard to society's treatment of youth, in reality, students have yet to experience the power of this children's rights declaration in full force. "I did see on television that the government is trying to make some changes, but I don't feel any of those changes in my life. For example, I heard that the government banished physical punishment in schools, but that's not the case in my school" (S8, 21/01/00). One student wished that the rights of youth were thought worthy enough to be of value in Korean society.

According to one participant, it is the view of the child as a human being that needs to be accepted by Koreans.

> [T]he right to be treated with the dignity of a human being is often violated. Adults/teachers just think that the students are children and have too many imperfections, so they just ignore us. The teachers think that they are better than the students, because they have lived longer and have more wisdom than we do. Though I respect their life experiences, I think that our experiences are valuable too. (S2, 08/01/00)

It is the ability of youth to give a valuable contribution to society that needs to be incorporated into the Korean belief system before youth rights can take an important place in the education system. As one student puts it "right now in Korea, I don't think that many could accept the rights in the CRC, because Koreans still believe that children don't have rights" (S10, 26/01/00).

Some students stated their awareness of government attempts at changing the school system to create more humane conditions for students, yet these changes had not trickled down to ground level as of yet. Students understand that there is a difference between what they see or hear or television and what is real. In fact, the television can be seen as a tool for government propaganda, rather than a source of truth. If government plans are truly intended to reach a stage of action, students believe that their attempts at change are failing at some point down the "chain of command". Either way, students are learning that political promises do not always come true. Since, as one student said, "the government banished physical punishment in schools, but that's not the case in my school", students must believe that someone, be it a teacher, principal, or school administrator, is disobeying the law and there are not any repercussions for those in power. Therefore, youth cannot be expected to believe that other human rights laws can directly affect their lives. Eide (1983) stresses that simply incorporating human rights into the legal system is an empty gesture unless the social, economic, and political order are transformed, allowing everyone an equal enjoyment of all human rights. (p. 107) By stating that adults could not accept the existence of youth rights, many students realize the part that hierarchy plays in human rights in Korea. Since adults do not view children as human, children will not have the opportunity to become empowered. UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme (1997b) is conscious of this problem and suggests that a culture of peace, which respects the rights of everyone, replace "domination and exploitation by the strong over the weak" (p. 16).

It is clear that, in the opinion of those interviewed, the first step in ensuring youth rights in Korea is to convince society that children are human beings. Assuming that those interviewed are right and adults do not view children as humans, it would not be an easy task to change public opinion overnight. Perhaps, a good first step would be for the government to honor its promise to educate the public on the rights of the CRC (Article 4). If these rights are not only put into legislation, as some have been already, but also enforced, it will not take long for Korean society to begin thinking seriously about youth rights.

Pollis (1996) states that Asian leaders often espouse contradictory doctrines by defending democracy in supporting the International Bill of Human Rights, while claiming that these doctrines hold a different significance in their society due to distinctive culture and values. (p. 323) This attitude does nothing but harm those individuals who the convention or treaty intended to protect. Though the CRC is not perfect, Van Bueren (1998) believes that it is the first document of its type to actually succeed at "balancing traditional values and international rights" (p. 19) since the Convention was the product of a collaboration of both Western and non-Western countries. In theory, this should prevent State leaders from using cultural relativism as an excuse to withhold rights from their people. Also, there should be no excuse for those countries that ratified the CRC 10 years ago not to have already implemented as many of the rights as economically, socially, and politically feasible.

Of all of the students interviewed, only two had any knowledge about the role of or even existence of any NGO advocates for human rights. A common response to an inquiry of Korean human rights NGOs was "I have heard of some, but I don't know the names or much about them" (S1, 06/01/00) or "[t]here must be some, but I haven't heard of them" (S4, 20/10/99). One student even stated, "I've never heard of one, but it's a good idea" (S2, 08/01/00). One of the two students aware of any NGOs in Korea, used the Consumer Protection Agency, which "helps consumers to fight back against companies when their product harms them" (S9, 04/12/99) as her only example. The other student with knowledge about Korean NGOs actually belonged to a youth group for middle and high school students and was an active learner about human rights in Korea. "They teach us that we have rights and that we are the owners of these rights. We don't do a lot of [community] work… but we do have a monthly newsletter that we make and distribute to 500 internet subscribers" (S10, 12/12/99).

Students did not doubt the fact that there were many NGOs supporting youth rights in Korea, thus accepting that there are many things that go on outside of the schools that they do not have time to discover. However, students were also saying that the work of the NGOs had not affected their lives in any obvious way and were, therefore, not very effective. It is a serious problem when most child welfare projects in Korea are run by NGOs and yet all but one of the youth interviewed had never heard of these organizations. Steinberg (1997) claims that the role of the government in controlling non-governmental organizations in Korea has been extremely pervasive – "[f]ew organizations have escaped the control of the state" (p. 159). Since the government does not provide much funding to non-governmental child welfare projects, the problem with NGO promotion would likely be linked to lack of financing. Also, youth spend all of their time in government-run institutions, where NGOs are likely unwelcome. Without government support, it is unlikely that welfare groups will be able to reach all of those youth in need of assistance or rights education. Knowledge is power and youth in Korea are often kept in the dark. Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that as part of the ongoing process of democratization, civil society movements such as NGOs in various fields, including human rights, have been gradually expanding. As earlier noted, the development of legislation for the National Human Rights Commission has involved NGOs that have actively sought to strengthen its democratic and autonomous character. As discussions with leading human rights advocators indicated, there are hopeful signs of emergent support for the role of NGOs among a wider spectrum of citizens, including the youth.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was undertaken to examine the understanding of a sample of South Korean youth regarding issues and problems of human rights both in the classroom and in the wider Korean society. Though this study took place outside of the school, a special focus was placed on the role of the Korean education system in influencing youth's understanding of and involvement in their own personal rights as well as their rights as students. The United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and issues and principles in the field of human rights and human rights education provided a conceptual framework underpinning the interviews as well as an aid in the analysis of the youth's responses. Since the Korean government has committed to improving the human rights of the country's youth by way of ratifying the CRC, the Convention was also used as a guideline for any conclusions and recommendations that follow.

A. Summary

Human Rights Knowledge

The majority of the Korean youth interviewed lacked an organized knowledge or understanding of the concept of human rights in terms of civil, political, economic, social, or cultural rights. Despite this lack of knowledge about general human rights, their narratives revealed that the students do hold concerns about some dimensions of the human rights situation in their societal context, including schools and community. Since the human rights movement, which was previously suppressed, has only recently gained momentum, the students still seem to have a limited awareness of and commitment to the advocacy and action of human rights. As well, it is only over the last year that governmental and political processes were initiated to establish a national convention on human rights for more visible protection of human rights in Korean society.

Teacher-Student Relationships

Due to the rigorous schedules of high school students, classroom behavior appears to be less than desirable. Tired, bored, and overworked youth have lost interest in lessons or have lost hope in succeeding. The competitive nature of society has been replicated in the classroom, which is ensured by the preoccupation with the university entrance examination. The mere thought of this examination causes children, parents, and teachers to become obsessed with one single moment at the end of many years of formal education. Even the national curriculum is geared toward this examination, causing Korea's youth to miss out on many other academic and extra-curricular opportunities. The importance of educational results precedes the notion of education as a valuable process.

Students described a classroom where hierarchy and favoritism is rampant. Many pointed-out the obvious inequalities in teacher treatment of one group over another, such as males over females, academic achievers over strugglers, or well behaving students over those who "act-up". Those who do not belong to one of the groups that stand out, such as the student government, academic achievers, or disruptive students, are not even known by name to most teachers. The students mostly agreed that youth could not speak freely in the classroom if their opinions differed from those of the teacher. Youth are governed by a long history of Confucianism and its hierarchical expectations and most are concerned about the repercussions involved with going against Korean tradition. Students also felt that they, as children, are not and cannot be respected by a teacher, who holds a position much higher in Korean hierarchy than that of the students. In the opinion of the students, teachers find youth important only as "tools" used to reach their own personal goals of success.

Although most students agreed that they receive better treatment from teachers at present than they did in middle school, nearly all expressed their unhappiness over the number of incidences of intentional humiliation doled-out by teachers. Sarcastic remarks, name calling, and labeling are a few of the most common tactics used by teachers to put down students. Many students felt that the punishments given by teachers rarely fit the "crime", especially when the punishments became physical. Being hit, slapped, pinched or even punched and kicked for being late, sleeping in class, or giving an incorrect answer to a teacher's question were all too common situations described by students. Students felt that frequent humiliation and physical abuse are not causing youth to alter their behaviors, yet teachers continue to use these forms of punishment.

Though some appreciated the attempt at progress, the relatively new "card/point system" activated in high schools in Seoul by the Korean government is something that students believed to be more painful a punishment than the previous system of physical abuse. If a student does something deemed negative by the teacher, that student will receive a negative point, which later becomes a negative comment, on their permanent record and vice versa for a positive action. Students believed that these records would affect their ability to get into university, though one source stated that this is not likely the case. Many, in fact, were so concerned about any negative comments being placed on their permanent records that they would choose a physical punishment over a negative point on their record if given the choice. Though the point system has been in effect for several years, students continued to complain of physical and verbal abuse by teachers. In fact, schools give each teacher a stick to hit students with, which does not reflect the government's new intention of having violence-free schools. The gap between legislation and practice is still very apparent.

Peer Relationships

Those interviewed contradicted the research on peer violence by stating that this was not a serious problem in their classrooms. Even the number of "wang-da" (outcast) students was much lower than the literature would suggest. Nevertheless, it can be argued that Korean schooling and curriculum needs to integrate issues of "identity" in terms of respecting diversity and difference, thereby preventing the outcast label resulting from intolerance of behaviors not conforming to fairly narrow norms. Students showed a relatively great distrust of most teachers/counselors when discussing the possibility of working through a peer problem with a member of the school staff. As the existing literature has suggested, and given the increasing levels of peer violence and isolation, conflict resolution skills would be an important addition to the existing curriculum.

Curriculum

Korea's national curriculum is controlled solely by the government, giving teachers, parents, and students little say in the content of textbooks or lessons. Students understand that unless it is exceptional, talent and creativity are not respected in the classroom. Textbooks and lessons are geared toward one goal – the university entrance exam – and those who cannot keep up or desire a more demanding curriculum must attain private tutors or attend a "hak-gwan" (institute) to fulfill their personal needs. At present, parents are spending incredible amounts of money on their children's private education. Such orientations and practices invariably diminish the fulfillment of the students' rights for maximizing their individual potential.

Nearly all of those interviewed believed that the curriculum and teachers encouraged students to harbor negative feelings toward Japan. The only reason that any student could come up with to move toward forgiving the past was in order for Korea to have successful economic ties with the Japanese. Clearly, human rights education in Korea will need to address such "bitterness" and help to promote a sense of reconciliation.

Female students feel the impact of severe inequalities between men and women in Korea before they are even allowed to participate fully in society. Although it appears as though females and males are educated equally throughout middle and high school, female students stated that they are encouraged to follow paths "typical" to women when choosing careers or areas of higher education. It is not only the education system that teaches youth about the privileges and constraints that student gender imparts upon them; parents, both mother and father, emphasize the hierarchical tradition that places males over females in many aspects of Korean life. Though women are a small part of history in Korean textbooks, times have changed and women's issues and contributions have come to light. However, most students remained unaware of the abuse and inequalities that women in Korea have to face on a daily basis. Some students learned of severe abuses of women's rights from the television or newspaper, but these issues were rarely mentioned in the classroom. Neglecting to discuss such inequalities and abuses, as well as the frequent inaction of authorities in reported cases of abuse, leads youth to believe that women remain an unimportant and inferior part of society.

Human rights were rarely discussed in the classroom, and even when they were, such as in Social Studies or Ethics class, the topics were merely skimmed over. It was clear to all of those interviewed that human rights were not important, since they were rarely discussed, were not on the university entrance examination, and were often violated by the very system that was teaching them. Though the government has altered the legislation to follow the CRC requirement to educate both youth and adults on human rights, they have not altered the curriculum to reflect this promise.

School Organizational Relationships

Most students agreed that the student government was merely a tool for teachers to control the student population. The ability to create changes or have input into school policies and programs was, in the opinion of most, not within the realm of student governmental duties/privileges. Students need to make a connection between that which they read in their textbooks or see in the media and what happens in real life. The student government is one way in which students are able to make this connection, yet this was not the case in the schools of those interviewed.

Though all Korean youth have an equal opportunity to attend school, those interviewed were led to believe that this alone put all students on equal ground. However, the poor government funding to public schools coupled with parental desire to have their children succeed at all costs has created a system that is equal only for those who can afford it. The bribing of teachers is common practice, as is the attendance of youth in "hak-gwans" (institutes) after school, where children can get the edge needed to place higher than their classmates on examinations. Those whose parents cannot afford these "extras" are at an extreme disadvantage.

Teachers designate even the little free time that Korean youth have. Every student must participate in an extra-curricular activity or club, which students, for the most part, deemed to be another "duty" rather than a source of enjoyment. Since students could not partake in the club that held the most interest for them, many wished that they could study rather than participate in these "fun" activities.

Parent & Community Involvement

Korean youth are often uninformed of the actions of their parents, and therefore, most students stated that they were unaware of any parent or community involvement in school activities. However, several students stated that much like those students on the student government, the parents of the student government were actively involved in school activities and fund raising.

The hierarchical tradition of the teacher holding a societal position much higher than that of the student is still quite prominent in Korea and parents, wanting their children to succeed, feel obligated to help their children respect this tradition. Students clearly believed that their parents would "side" with the teacher over any disagreement or problem at school. This lack of trust between parent and child was very real in the eyes of those interviewed. The violent environment of the school tends to be paralleled in some Korean homes. Youth were aware of this link and thus attempted to keep their school life separate from their home life in order to create a more peaceful atmosphere at home.

Empowerment

Students were aware that they were lacking in knowledge about their human rights and ways by which they could protect themselves from violations. These same students, however, saw Korean hierarchy as a blockade to youth achieving the rights that they deserved. All believed that the adults in society needed to be educated alongside the youth in order for youth rights to be upheld; however, most were pessimistic about the willingness of adults in Korea to participate in the education and protection of youth rights. Rather, the students felt that they would have to wait until they held the power of age before any changes could be made to youth rights and freedoms. Though students saw the need for youth human rights education for all, they also believed that knowledge is power and those adults who already have it would be unlikely to readily relinquish it.

Youth are becoming more aware of the existence of youth rights in legislation, yet they stated that these laws had not affected their own lives at home or at school. Nearly all of the youth had not heard of the CRC or any of its principles. According to one student, it is the view of the child as a human being with the ability to give a valuable contribution to society that needs to be incorporated into the Korean belief system before youth rights can take an important place in the education system. Almost all of the students had never heard of any non-government organizations (NGO) defending human rights. In their opinions, the work of the non-government organizations had not affected youth's lives in any way, and thus, NGOs were not succeeding at accomplishing their goals.

B. Reflection and Recommendations

In sum, the findings of this study reveal that Korean youth are lacking in a basic knowledge of their civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. With middle and high school students spending a great part of their day and week at school, it falls upon the education system to ensure that youth are properly informed about the rights promised to them by national legislation and international agreements, such as the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Being familiar with their rights is the first and most important step in realizing these rights.

Though students lacked the terminology and a theoretical understanding of human rights, they did show a degree of concern for the human rights conditions in Korea, such as the plight of the disabled and poor, as well as the difficult situation that students themselves must face. Despite this concern, students were unfamiliar with the avenues leading to advocacy and action and would greatly benefit from participatory activities in all areas of education, especially in the area of human rights. The United Nations (1989) suggests, "human rights teaching requires more than simply intellectual effort… A reasonable school experience can help promote that capacity (and may also make learning to read and write and reason, more efficient too)" (p. 9).

In order for youth to most benefit from human rights education, all areas of the curriculum must be infused with human rights, whether it is through discussions about or active participation in the area of human rights or through other school practices and organizational relationships which need to be infused with human rights principles, such as school policies on physical violence.

> Human rights curriculum is one important component of human rights education. Another component, perhaps of equal if not greater importance however, may be that information which the school unintentionally transmits to students through its school management practices. A human rights education program will be most effective in a school environment which exemplifies respect for the dignity and worth of each individual and which makes the human rights principles of equality, justice, democracy, freedom and peace central to its philosophy and practice. (Burch & Beauchamp, 1991, p. 1)

The Manitoba Human Rights Commission (1991) has created a guide for educators, students, and parents to help establish human rights in the school. Though the Committee proposes that each school examine its human rights principles and practices, this can also be done on a larger scale, beginning with the Ministry of Education. The Committee suggests that the assessment and development of a school's climate will require a 10-18 month commitment. A committee consisting of a varied group of school participants, such as teachers, administrators, parents, and students should be created to evaluate the present school environment. Once the committee has assessed the human rights practices of the school and prioritized the school's needs, a plan of action, including goals and objectives, should be established. For example, if gender equality is found to be inadequate, the committee may set a goal to implement school policies and procedures particular to this topic in the areas of school curriculum, classroom, athletic programs, co-curricular programs, testing and assessment, school management, employment policies and practices, and professional development of staff. (p. 15) The committee will then establish a plan of action, which will set-out how the objectives will be achieved, followed by the implementation and evaluation of the plan. Hopefully, the Ministry of Education and other educational stakeholders will draw useful lessons from such a participatory and systematic approach to human rights education in schools.

Many of those interviewed found their classes boring and tiring. It is time to consider replacing the lecture-style lessons with more interactive, student-centered lessons. Not only will students be more likely to develop a love for learning, they will retain more of what they have been studying. A considerable decrease in the stress on competition in Korean schools would very much benefit students, teachers, and even parents. In order for this to become possible, the university entrance exam must be altered and, more importantly, remain separate from the school system. The stigma of failing to enter university is enormous, and though the government has in the past attempted to encourage youth to enter technological or vocational high schools and colleges, their efforts have been relatively unsuccessful. The disgrace of accessing the alternatives to university, either by choice or by circumstance, must be addressed, as the number of university hopefuls is much higher than the available openings. The pressure to enter university is so great that youth are literally dying if they fail to succeed. In order for changes to take place within the high school curriculum and classroom, the government must seriously examine the present university entrance system and find a more reasonable and less distracting method of choosing university candidates.

At present, youth are conditioned to merely listen, memorize, and accept all that the teacher and textbooks pass on. Youth are discouraged from speaking their minds, thinking critically, and challenging societal assumptions, while these actions would not create a society of disrespectful and delinquent youth. Rather, society and the economy would profit immensely from sharper and more critical minds. From the perspective of human rights education, a critical pedagogical process based on principles of dialogue and empowerment will be crucial to youth developing their own capacities to promote their own rights as well as responsibilities to uphold the rights of other citizens.

Class size is an issue when most students' names are not even known by the teacher. To go through years of schooling as a number certainly degrades youth and affects their self-esteem. Not only would a decrease in class size improve youths' self worth, it would allow more students to get the personal attention that they need and desire while allowing the teacher to tend to the educational needs of individual students. Such is the intention of Article 29 of the CRC.

Age, sex, and academic ability were seen as markers used to discriminate between students by both teachers and peers. Schools need to adhere to the CRC as promised by the Korean government and thus, teach youth about equality and acceptance through lessons and by way of teacher example. Though Confucianist hierarchy is still important to Korea's societal structure, it would not be compromised by a school system that exemplifies equality and respect between human beings.

On the same note, the frequent humiliation and physical punishment by teachers are clearly no longer (if they ever were) functioning as a deterrent of undesirable behaviors by students. Beating down the self-esteem of Korea's youth can benefit only an authoritarian regime that requires strict obedience and subservience from its "supporters". Such behaviors by teachers and school administrators are not to the advantage of a country attempting to stabilize its democratic roots. If the government has in fact banned physical abuse in the classroom, then this should be strictly enforced. Though a step in the right direction, the point system has not succeeded in replacing the rampant abuse that takes place in Korea's schools. One way to help ensure the rights of youth is to go through the teachers. Teachers should be educated in youth rights and given the tools and support necessary to help youth to protect these rights. Teachers, along with the rest of society, must also be warned of the consequences of failing to ensure the rights of Korean youth. At the same time, teachers need to know that their own personal and professional rights are widely known and protected. As Kang, S. W. (1999) states, at present, the rights of Korean teachers are incredibly vague and even unstable. (p. 63) If teachers are secure and happy in their jobs – well-paid, well-respected, with abundant supplies and adequate facilities -- they will be likely to treat students better.

Although the students interviewed did not find peer violence and elitism to be a problem, the literature states just the opposite. Youth are replicating the behaviors exhibited in school and creating a culture of violence in their own circles. Peer violence is on the increase and the education system is feeding this. Not only will the elimination of physical punishments and humiliation help in the decrease of peer violence, conflict resolution skills, as recommended by the Colorado School Mediation Project (CSMP) (2000) and the Alberta Teacher's Association's (ATA) Safe and Caring Schools (SACS) (2001) program can also be helpful. These programs both suggest making life skills, such as negotiation and non-violent problem solving, part of the curriculum.

Since the government controls the national curriculum and all of the textbooks, individual schools, teachers, parents, and students do not have much input into what goes on in the classroom. If youth are to be expected to give a valuable contribution to society, the focus of the curriculum must change from being a preparatory course for the university entrance exam to being a platform for youth to experiment with innovative and challenging subject matter. Nam (1994) suggests the need for the level of government control over textbooks and curriculum policy to be reconsidered, at the very minimum, by providing schools or teachers with a choice of textbooks "so that different perspectives could be legitimized within the category of official knowledge" (p. 180).

Also, the government needs to address the poor fiscal state of schools in

Korea. With teacher salaries and public funding of school facilities at an unacceptable low, the private costs of schooling, whether it be through donations or bribes, have reached an incredible high. On that note, the government and school officials need to address the serious problem of the commonality of illegal teacher bribes, as well as the amount of money that parents are forced to put into their children's private education due to the flawed public system. Moon (1998) says that teachers taking money from parents is a common scenario and teachers are rarely sanctioned for this illegal action. (p. 79)

Youth, especially females, recognize the messages, however subtle, that define the roles of males and females in Korea. The texts and lessons still reflect social disparity based on gender, class, region or ethnicity, which are all problems in Korea, as well as in many other countries. Nam (1994) stresses that the "issue of gender equity clearly needs to be addressed so that textbook knowledge can play a counteractive role in questioning patriarchal values and relationships" (p. 179). Though the pool of professional women is still relatively small, a mentor program for female youth would greatly benefit Korea's young women. Also, the government, though quite efficient at establishing laws of protection, needs to raise public awareness of existing legislation and, more importantly, the government needs to enforce this legislation. At the same time, a positive emergent force for change towards gender equity and fulfillment of women's human rights lies in the growth of women's NGOs and movements.

When several students describe the education system itself as being against human rights, it is clear that changes need to be made in the school environment before lessons on human rights can be fully effective. To have a small section in one Ethics or Social Studies textbook is not enough to demonstrate the importance that human rights issues play in each of our lives. Human rights needs to be both integrated into the entire curriculum as well as being demonstrated by the actions of the educational community.

> The content for social studies and moral education which can help students understand their society and civic morality, must endow them with

> the right to know the 'real' issues in their society and to develop capacities for active democratic citizenship. (Nam, 1994, p. 179)

The country is now at a point where it would benefit from the development of creative, thoughtful, and humane beings. Peaceful and democratic youth will be the result of a more open-minded education system. Here the words of UNICEF (1997) ring true "[e]ducation has become part of the problem. It has to be reborn as part of the solution" (p. 29).

C. Recommendations for Further Research

This study, by virtue of its focus on youth as individuals and as students, has not endeavored to examine all possible aspects of human rights that a systematic approach to human rights education will entail. Also, the methodological boundaries of the study mean that the lives of the youth outside the school context, notably in their family homes, were not examined. Clearly, this would be a very relevant dimension to explore in further research. Likewise, the study has also been generally limited to issues of human rights within Korean society, except in the area of Korean attitudes towards Japan. As human rights advocates and educators have stressed in recent years, it is especially essential to focus on the global dimensions of human rights. Thus, further research in a wider study would raise questions such as the youth's awareness of Korean relationships with South countries that have significant implication for the violations or promotion of human rights of other peoples (e.g. South workers in Korean investments in South countries in the Asia-Pacific region). It is also interesting that, at least for the youth in this study, questions of human rights in North Korea were not directly surfaced, despite the historic and continuing problem of North-South Korean divisions and possible reunification. These and other questions will be important topics for further research on human rights education in South Korea.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alberta Teachers Association (2001). *Safe and caring schools project,* [Internet]. Available: http://www.teachers.ab.ca [2001, December].

Amnesty International (1981). *Republic of Korea violations of human rights*. London: Amnesty International Publications.

Amnesty International (1986). *South Korea: Violations of human rights*. London: Amnesty International Publications.

Amnesty International (2000). *Amnesty International Report 2000: Korea,* [Internet]. Available: http://www.amnesty.org/web/ar2000web.nsf [2001, November].

Asia Watch Committee (1987). *A stern, steady crackdown: Legal process and human rights in South Korea*. Washington, DC: Asia Watch.

Baird, V. (1992). Difference and defiance. *New Internationalist, July,* 4-7.

Bandow, D. (1994). The IMF: A record of addiction and failure. In D. Bandow & I. Vasquez (Eds.), *Perpetuating poverty: The World Bank, the IMF, and the developing world* (pp. 15-58). Washington, DC: Cato Institute.

Bell, D. A. (1996). The East Asian challenge to human rights: Reflections on an east west dialogue. *Human Rights Quarterly, 18*(3), 641-667.

Bello, W., & Rosenfeld, S. (1990). *Dragons in distress: Asia's miracle economies in crisis.* San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy.

Billet, B. L. (1990). South Korea at the crossroads: An evolving democracy or authoritarianism revisited? *Asian Survey, 30*(3), 301-311.

Bourantonis, D., & Evriviades, M. L. (1996). *A United Nations for the twenty-first century: Peace, security, and development.* Boston: Kluwer Law International.

Bovard, J. (1994). The World Bank and the impoverishment of nations. In D. Bandow & I. Vasquez (Eds.), *Perpetuating poverty: The World Bank, the IMF, and the developing world* (pp. 59-74). Washington, DC: Cato Institute.

Brecher, J., & Costello, T. (1994). *Global village or global pillage: Economic reconstruction from the bottom up*. Boston: South End Press.

Brems, E. (2001). *Human rights: Universality and diversity.* Boston: Martinus Nijhoff.

Browett, J. (1985). The newly industrializing countries and radical theories of development. *World Development, 13*(7), 789-803.

Burch, J., & Beauchamp, D. (1991). *Human rights in the school: Guidelines for educators, students, parents and other school participants*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Human Rights Commission.

Casualties of a crisis (1999). *News Review, 28*(1), 12.

Cha, V. D. (1993). Politics and democracy under the Kim Young Sam government: Something old, something new. *Asian Survey, 33*(9), 849-863.

Charles, C. M. (1998). *Introduction to educational research* (3rd ed.). New York: Longman.

Ching, F. (2000). Korean peninsula: Separate agendas. *Far Eastern Economic Review, 163*(42), 36.

Cho, H. J. (1995). Children in the examination war in South Korea: A cultural analysis. In S. Stephens (Ed.), *Children and the politics of culture* (pp. 141-168). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cho, U. (1994). Economic growth and poverty in Korea: A gender perspective. In N. Heyzer & G. Sen (Eds.), *Gender, economic growth and poverty: Market growth and State planning in Asia and the Pacific* (pp. 101-122). New Delhi, India: Kali for Women.

Christie, K. (1995). Regime security and human rights in Southeast Asia. In D. Beetham (Ed.), *Politics and human rights* (pp. 204-218). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Chung, D. Y. (1999). *Education for international understanding in the Republic of Korea: Policy and status.* Paper presented at the meeting Education for International Understanding and Peace in Asia and the Pacific, Inchon and Kyongju, Republic of Korea.

Chung, Y. S. (1999). *Asian perspectives on human rights and trade-off theory thesis: Focus on South Korea.* Unpublished PhD, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Clifford, M. (1990). Seoul-mates again. *Far Eastern Economic Review, 147*(9), 46-51.

Colorado School Mediation Project (2000). *Implementing a comprehensive conflict resolution program: The whole school approach*, [Internet]. Available: http://www.csmp.org/whole/whole.htm [2000, May].

Cumings, B. (1989). The abortive abertura: South Korea in the light of Latin American experience. *New Left Review, 173*(Jan/Feb), 5-32.

Cumings, B. (1997). *Korea's place in the sun: A modern history*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Cumper, P. (1999). Human rights: History, development and classification. In A. Hegarty & S. Leonard (Eds.), *A human rights: An agenda for the 21st century*. London: Cavendish Publishing.

Cunningham, J. (1991). The human rights secondary school. In H. Starkey (Ed.), *The challenge of human rights education* (pp. 90-104). London: Cassell.

Dahlman, C. J., & Andersson, T. (2000). *Korea and the knowledge-based economy: Making the transition*. Paris: The World Bank.

Davis, M. C. (1998). The price of rights: Constitutionalism and East Asian economic development. *Human Rights Quarterly, 20*(2), 303-337.

Davis, M. C. (2000). Human rights, political values, and development in East Asia. In A. Pollis & P. Schwab (Eds.), *Human rights: New perspectives, new realities* (pp. 139-158). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

De Bary, W. T. (1988). Neo-Confucianism and human rights. In L. S. Rouner (Ed.), *Human right and the world's religions* (pp. 183-198). Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

De Sousa Santos, B. (1999). On oppositional postmodernism. In R. Munck & D. O'Hearn (Eds.), *Critical development theory: Contributions to a new paradigm* (pp. 29-43). New York: Zed Books.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). *The handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Devine, C., Hansen, C. R., Wilde, R., & Poole, H. (1999). *Human rights: the essential reference*. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press.

Diem, R., Levy, T., & Vansickle, R. (1997). Korean education: Focusing on the future. *Social Education, 61*(2), 83-87.

Donnelly, J. (1999). Human rights and Asian values: A defense of "western" universalism. In J. R. Bauer & D. Bell (Eds.), *The East Asian challenge for human rights* (pp. 60-87). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Douzinas, C. (2000). *The end of human rights: Critical legal thought at the turn of the century*. Portland, OR: Hart Publishers.

Dube, S. C. (1988). *Modernization and development: The search for alternative paradigms*. New Jersey, NY: Zed Books.

Duncan, W. (1998). Children's Rights, cultural diversity and private international law. In G. Douglas & L. Sebba (Eds.), *Children's rights and traditional values*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Dye, P. (1991). Active learning for human rights in intermediate and high schools. In H. Starkey (Ed.), *The challenge of human rights education* (pp. 105-119). London: Cassell.

Eide, A. (1983). Dynamics of human rights and the role of the educator. *Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 14*(1), 105-114.

Eide, A., & Thee, M. (1983). *Frontiers of human rights education*. Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

Ellinger, T. R., & Beckham, G. M. (1997). South Korea: Placing education on top of the family agenda. *Phi Delta Kappan, 78*(April), 624-625.

Encyclopedia Britannica. (1999). *Britannica book of the year*. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc.

Ensor, P. (1985a). The search for roots reveals a cultural enigma. *Far Eastern Economic Review, 129*(28), 55-70.

Ensor, P. (1985b). An uneasy mix of California and Confucius. *Far Eastern Economic Review, 129*(28), 65-67.

Eoh, M. H. (1999). Democratic citizenship education in Korea. *The Social Studies, 90*(6), 250-252.

Fernekes, W. R. (1999). Human rights for children: The unfinished agenda. *Social Education, 63*(4), 234-240.

Forsythe, D. P. (1983). *Human rights and world politics*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.

Fottrell, D. (1999). Children's rights. In A. Hegarty & S. Leonard (Eds.), *A human rights: An agenda for the 21st century* (pp. 167-179). London: Cavendish Publishing.

Francis, C. (2001). The wrongs of the United Nations' rights of the child. In T. Wagner & L. Carbone (Eds.), *Fifty years after the declaration: The United Nations' record on human rights* (pp. 81-86). Washington, DC: Family Research Council.

Freedom House. (2001). *Country ratings*, [Internet]. Available: http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/freeworld/2001/countryratings/koreas.htm [2001, November].

Friedman, E. (1995). Women's human rights: The emergence of a movement. In J. Peters & A. Wolper (Eds.), *Women's rights, human rights: International feminist perspectives* (pp. 18-35). New York: Routledge.

Friedman, E. (1999). Asia as a fount of universal human rights. In P. Van Ness (Ed.), *Debating human rights: Critical essays from the United States and Asia* (pp. 56-75). New York: Routledge.

Gall, J. P., Borg, W. R., & Gall, M. D. (1996). *Applying educational research: A practical guide* (4th ed.). New York: Longman.

Gay, L. R. (1992). *Educational research: Competencies for analysis and application* (4th ed.). New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

George, S. (1992). *The debt boomerang: How Third World debt harms us all.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Ghai, Y. (1999). Rights, social justice, and globalization in East Asia. In J. R. Bauer & D. Bell (Eds.), *The East Asian challenge for human rights* (pp. 241-263). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Government of the Republic of Korea (2000). *Second national report under the Article 44 of the Convention on the rights of the child.* Seoul: Government of Korea.

The Hague agenda for peace and justice for the 21st century. (1999). Paper presented at the meeting Hague Appeal for Peace, 1999, The Hague.

Halliday, J. (1977). The political background. In G. McCormack & J. Gittings (Eds.), *Crisis in Korea* (pp. 13-25). Nottingham, England: The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Ltd.

Han, S. J. (1988). South Korea in 1987: The politics of democratization. *Asian Survey, 28*(1), 52-61.

Han, S. J. (1998). The Korean path to modernization and risk society. *Korea Journal, 38*(1).

Haque, M. S. (1999). *Restructuring development theories and policies: A critical study.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Hart-Landsberg. (1989). South Korea: Looking at the left. *Monthly Review, 41*(3).

Henriksen, T. H., & Mo, J. (1997). *North Korea after Kim Il Sung: Continuity or change?* Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.

Heon, W. I. (1999). Human rights education in Korean schools. *Human Rights Education in Asian Schools, 2*, 68-72.

Human Rights Education (1999). *Human rights,* [Internet]. Available: http://www.hrea.org [2001, December].

Human Rights Watch (2001). *The children's rights project,* [Internet].

Available: http://www.hrw.org [2001, December].

Human Rights Web (1997). *A short history of the human rights movement,* [Internet]. Available: http://www.hrweb.org [2001, December].

Im, Y. S. (1998). Research into the cause of school violence (In Korean), *Teenage Logic Research* (5th ed., pp. 1-16).

Institute for South-North Korea Studies (1992). *The Human rights situation in North Korea.* Seoul: The Institute for South-North Korea Studies.

Kang, D. G. (2001). How can we protect the rights of youth? (In Korean). *Education for International Understanding, Fall*(5), 35-48.

Kang, S. W. (1977). The politics and poetry of Kim Chi-ha. *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 9*(2), 3-7.

Kang, S. W. (1999). Human rights education in South Korea. *Human Rights Education in Asian Schools, 2*, 61-67.

Karp, J. (2000). Reporting and the committee on the rights of the child. In A. F. Bayefsky (Ed.), *The UN human rights treaty system in the 21st century* (pp. 35-56). Boston, MA: Kluwer Law International.

Kelly, D., & Reid, A. (1998). *Asian freedoms: The idea of freedom in East and Southeast Asia.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kielburger, C., & Major, K. (1998). *Free the Children*. Toronto, ON: M&S.

Kim, C. H. (1977). A declaration of conscience. *Bulletin of concerned Asian scholars, 9*(2), 8-16.

Kim, H. D. (1999). *Teacher education programmes for education for international understanding (EIU).* Paper presented at the meeting Education for International Understanding and Peace in Asia and the Pacific, Inchon and Kyongju, Republic of Korea.

Kim, H. K. (1999). The United States and South Korea since 1982. In Y.-B. Lee & W. Patterson (Eds.), *Korean-American relations, 1866-1997* (pp. 143-154). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Kim, J. M. (1998). Korean children's concepts of adult and peer authority and moral reasoning. *Developmental Psychology, 34*(5), 947-955.

Kim, J. W. (1999). Human rights education in school (In Korean), *Discussion for activating human rights* (pp. 134-145). Seoul: Hanshin University.

Kim, M. H. (1999). A vital strategy. *News Review, 28*(48), 24-25.

Kim, Q. Y. (1988). Korea's Confucian heritage and social change. *Journal of Developing Societies, 4*(2), 255-268.

Kim, Y. H. (1999). Recent developments in Korean school education. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 10*(1), 55-71.

Koenig, S. (1998). Economic, social, and cultural rights: Questions and answers. *Human rights education: The 4th reeducating for economic justice, 9*(1), 1-4.

Korea Women's NGO Committee. (1995). *Violence against women and women's human rights in Korea* (Gender Violence in Korea), [Internet]. Available: (Peacenet) http://www.igc.org [1999, November].

Kurian, G. T. (1987). *Encyclopedia of the third world* (3rd ed. Vol. II). New York: Facts on File, Inc.

Kwon, T. H., & Cho, H. (1997). Confucianism and Korean society: A historical basis of Korean democratization. In M. Schmiegelow (Ed.), *Democracy in Asia* (pp. 321-338). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Larkin, J. (2000). Korea's winter of discontent. *Far Eastern Economic Review, 163*(49), 16-20.

Launius, M. A. (1984). The state and industrial labor in South Korea. *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 16*(4), 2-10.

Leckie, S. (1998). Another step towards indivisibility: Identifying the key features of violations of economic, social and cultural rights. *Human Rights Quarterly, 20*(1), 81-124.

Lee, G. B. (2001). Cultural diversity in youth rights (In Korean). *Education for International Understanding, Fall*(5), 25-34.

Lee, J. K. (1999). Historic factors affecting educational administration in Korean higher education. *Higher Education Review, 32*(1), 7-23.

Lee, K. W. (1983). *Human resources planning in the Republic of Korea: Improving technical education and vocational training*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Lee, S. T. (1993). South Korea: Implementation and application of human rights covenants. *Michigan Journal of International Law, 14*(summer).

Lerner, N. (2000). *Religion, beliefs, and international human rights*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Lim, H. C. (1985). *Dependent development in Korea 1963-1979*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.

Marfording, A. (1997). Cultural relativism and the construction of culture: An examination of Japan. *Human Rights Quarterly, 19*(2), 431-448.

Mason, E. S. (1980). *The economic and social modernization of the Republic of Korea*. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University.

McCormack, G. (1977). The South Korean economy: GNP versus the people. In G. McCormack & J. Gittings (Eds.), *Crisis in Korea* (pp. 57-68). Nottingham, England: The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Ltd.

McGinn, N. F. (1980). *Education and development in Korea*. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University.

McMillan, J. H., & Schumacher, S. (1993). *Research in education: A conceptual introduction* (3rd ed.). New York: HarperCollins College Publishers.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Mertens, D. M. (1998). *Research methods in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative & qualitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Michell, T. (1985). The forecast is sunny for the year 2000. *Far Eastern Economic Review, 129*(28), 50-54.

Miljeteig-Olsen, P. (1992). Children's participation: Giving children the opportunity to develop into active and responsible members of society. *Social Education, 56*(4), 216.

Ministry of Education. (1986). *Education in Korea: 1985-1986*. Seoul: Government of the Republic of Korea.

Ministry of Education. (1994). *Educational development in the Republic of Korea: 1993-1994*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Education, Geneva, Switzerland.

Misgeld, D., & Magendzo, A. (1997). Human rights education, moral education and modernisation: The general relevance of some Latin American experiences: A conversation. *Journal of Moral Education, 26*(2), 151-168.

Moon, Y. L. (1998). Korean education in terms of risk society. *Korea Journal, 38*(1), 70-82.

Morris, P. (1996). Asia's four little tigers: A comparison of the role of education in their development. *Comparative Education, 32*(1), 95-109.

Murphy-Berman, V., Levesque, H. L. & Berman, J. J. (1996). U.N. Convention on the rights of the child: A cross-cultural view. *American Psychologist, 51*(12), 1257-1261.

Muzaffar, C. (1999). From human rights to human dignity. In P. Van Ness (Ed.), *Debating human rights: Critical essays from the United States and Asia* (pp. 25-31). New York: Routledge.

Na, J. H. (1999). The situation of human rights education in the school system and suggested alternatives (In Korean), *Discussion for activating human rights* (pp. 146-147). Seoul: Hanshin University.

Nam, H. S. (1994). *Analysis of school knowledge in South Korean textbooks (1965-1991).* Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta.

Osler, A. (1994). The UN Convention on the rights of the child: Some implications for teacher education. *Educational Review, 46*(2), 141-151.

Osler, A., & Starkey, H. (1996). *Teacher education and human rights*. London: D. Fulton Publishers.

Osterfeld, D. (1994). The liberating potential of multinational corporations. In D. Bandow & I. Vaszuez (Eds.), *Perpetuating poverty: The World Bank, the IMF, and the developing world*. Washington, DC.: Cato Institute.

Oxman, S. A., Triffterer, O., & Cruz, F. B. (1987). *South Korea -- Human rights in the emerging politics: Report of an ICJ mission from 25 March to 12 April 1987.* Geneva: International Commission of Jurists.

Paisley, E. (1994). Rights of the accused: Government's human-rights record assailed. *Far Eastern Economic Review, 157*(13), 16.

Palley, H. A. (1992). Social policy and the elderly in South Korea: Confucianism, modernization, and development. *Asian Survey, 32*(9), 787-801.

Park, C. M. (1991). Authoritarian rule in South Korea: Political support and governmental performance. *Asian Survey, 31*(8), 743-761.

Park, D. E. (1993). *Republic of Korea, Rights of the child: Report of a training programme in Asia* (pp. 373). Geneva: International Commission of Jurists.

Park, K. A. (1993). Women and development: The case of South Korea. *Comparative Politics, 25*(2), 127-143.

Peek, J. M. (1995). Buddhism, human rights and the Japanese state. *Human Rights Quarterly, 17*(3), 527-540.

Pollis, A. (1996). Cultural relativism revisited: Through a state prism. *Human Rights Quarterly, 18*(2), 286-315.

Pollis, A., & Schwab, P. (2000). Globalization's impact on human rights. In A. Pollis & P. Schwab (Eds.), *Human rights: New perspectives, new realities* (pp. 209-221). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Ravindran, D. J. (1998). Asian human rights situation: An overview. *Human Rights Forum, 4*(2), 25-43.

Ray, D., & Tarrow, N. B. (1987). Human rights and education: An overview. In N. B. Tarrow (Ed.), *Human rights and education* (1st ed.). New York: Pergamon Press.

Reardon, B. (1995). *Educating for human dignity: Learning about rights and responsibilities*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Rendtorff, T. (1988). Christian concepts of the responsible self. In L. S. Rouner (Ed.), *Human rights and the world's religions* (pp. 33-45). Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Renteln, A. D. (1990). *International human rights: Universalism versus relativism*. Newbury Park, England: Sage Publications.

Richardson, R. (1980). Back on the road to repression. *Far Eastern Economic Review, 108*(23), 8-10.

Roberts, P. (2000). New light on a "forgotten war": The diplomacy of the Korean conflict. *OAH Magazine of History, 14*(3), 10-14.

Rosemont, H. J. (1988). Why take rights seriously? A Confucian critique. In L. S. Rouner (Ed.), *Human rights and the world's religions* (pp. 167-182). Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Saidla, D. D. (1992). Children's rights regarding physical abuse. *Journal of Humanistic Education and Development, 31*(2), 73-83.

Saks, M. J. (1996). The role of research in implementing the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. *American Psychologist, 51*(12), 1262-1266.

Schabas, W. A. (1996). Reservations to the convention on the rights of the child. *Human Rights Quarterly, 18*(2), 472-491.

Schmidt, J., & Manson, P. (1999). Human rights education: A framework for social study from the interpersonal to the global. *Social Studies & the Young Learner, 11*(Jan/Feb), 1-4.

Schmiegelow, M. (1997). *Democracy in Asia*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Schultz, T. W. (1963). *The economic value of education*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sethi, S. P. (2000). Human rights and corporate sense. *Far Eastern Economic Review, 163*(42), 37.

Shafer, S. M. (1987). Human rights education in schools. In N. B. Tarrow (Ed.), *Human rights and education* (1st ed.). New York: Pergamon Press.

Shaw, W. (1991). *Human rights in Korea: Historical and policy perspectives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Shiman, D. (1991). Teaching human rights: Classroom activities for a global age. In H. Starkey (Ed.), *The challenge of human rights education* (pp. 189-204). London: Cassell.

Sohn, C. H., & Yang, J. S. (1998). *Korea's economic reform measures under the IMF program: Government measures in the critical first six months of the Korean economic crisis*. Seoul: Korea Institute for International Economic Policy.

Starkey, H. (1991). The Council of Europe recommendation on the teaching and learning of human rights in schools. In H. Starkey (Ed.), *The challenge of human rights education* (pp. 20-37). London: Cassell.

Starkey, H. (1992). Back to basic values: Education for justice and peace in the world. *Journal of Moral Education, 21*(3), 185-191.

Steinberg, D. (1997). Civil society and human rights in Korea: On contemporary and classical orthodoxy and ideology. *Korea Journal, 37*(3), 145-165.

Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Tergel, A. (1998). *Human rights in cultural and religious traditions*. Uppsala: S. Academiae Ubsaliensis.

The Nobel Foundation (2000). *Nobel Peace Prize 2000,* [Internet]. Available: http://www.nobel.se/peace/laureates/2000 [2002, January].

The People's Movement for Human Rights Education (2001a). *The human rights of children and youth*, [Internet]. Available: http://www.pdhre.org/rights/children.html [2001, December 8].

The People's Movement for Human Rights Education (2001b). *The human right to education*, [Internet]. Available: http://www.pdhre.org/rights/education/html [2001, December 8].

Theytaz-Bergman, L. (2000). State reporting and the role of non-governmental organizations. In A. F. Bayefsky (Ed.), *The UN human rights treaty system in the 21st century*. Boston: Kluwer Law International.

Thurman, R. A. F. (1988). Social and cultural rights in Buddhism. In L. S. Rouner (Ed.), *Human rights and the world's religions* (pp. 148-166). Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Tibbitts, F. (1996). On human dignity: The need for human rights education. *Social Education, 60*(7), 428-431.

Toh, S. H. (1987). Survival and solidarity: Australia and third world (south) peace. *Social Alternatives, 6*(2), 59-66.

Toh, S. H. (1988a). Justice and development. In D. Hicks (Ed.), *Education for peace: Issues, principles and practice in the classroom* (pp. 122-142). New York: Routledge.

Toh, S. H. (1988b). Objections to peace education. In S. H. Toh (Ed.), *Issues and insights on peace education*. Armidale: IYP.

Toh, S. H. (1991). Transcending boundaries: The yin and yang of educating for peace. In S. H. Toh (Ed.), *Journeys in peace education: Critical reflections from Australia* (pp. 115-138). New York: EARTH; Education Action & Research Towards Holism.

Toh, S. H., & Floresca-Cawagas, V. (1990). *Peaceful theory and practice in values education*. Quezon City, AZ: Phoenix Publishing House.

Toh, S. H., & Floresca-Cawagas, V. (1997). Towards a people-centered education: Possibilities and struggles in the Philippines. *International Review of Education, 43*(5-6), 527-546.

Torney-Purta, J. V. (1984). Human rights. In N. Graves, J. Dunlop & J. Torney-Purta (Eds.), *Teaching for international understanding, peace, and human rights*. Paris: UNESCO.

Ty, R. R. (1992). Teaching children's rights in the Philippines. *Social Education, 56*(4), 220-221.

U.S. Department of State (2000). *Country reports on human rights practices -- 2000: Korea*, [Internet]. Available: http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2000 [2001, November 13].

UNESCO (1994). *Tolerance: The threshold of peace*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1995). Learning about citizenship at primary school: The example of the Republic of Korea. In P. Meyer-Bisch (Ed.), *Culture of democracy: A challenge for schools*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1997a). *Manual for Human Rights Education*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1997b). *UNESCO and a culture of peace: Promoting a global movement*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1998a). *Human rights: New dimensions and challenges*. Brookfield, USA: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1998b). *Learning to live together in peace and harmony: Values education for peace, human rights, democracy and sustainable development for the Asia-Pacific region*. Bangkok: UNESCO.

UNICEF (1997). *The state of the world's children: A new era for children*. Geneva: UNICEF.

UNICEF (1999). *The state of the world's children: Education*. Geneva: UNICEF.

United Nations (1948). Universal declaration of human rights, [Internet]. Available: http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html [January 2002].

United Nations (1989a). *Convention on the rights of the child*. Geneva: Center for Human Rights.

United Nations (1989b). *Teaching human rights: Practical activities for primary and secondary schools*. Geneva: Center for Human Rights.

United Nations (1995). *Committee on economic, social and cultural rights: Concluding observations on the Republic of Korea*. Geneva: Center for Human rights.

Unno, T. (1988). Personal rights and contemporary Buddhism. In L. S. Rouner (Ed.), *Human rights and the world's religions* (pp. 129-147). Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Van Bueren, G. (1998). Children's rights: Balancing traditional values and cultural plurality. In G. Douglas & L. Sebba (Eds.), *Children's rights and traditional values*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Vienna plus five global NGO forums on human rights. (1998). Ottawa, Canada.

West, J. M. (1987). Review Essay: The suboptimal "miracle" of South Korean state capitalism. *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 19*(3), 60-71.

World Conference on Human Rights (1993). *Vienna declaration and programme for action*, Vienna.

Yi, J. S. (1996). *Male chauvinism and the preference for sons* (Gender violence in Korea), [Internet]. Available: http://www.igc.org (Peacenet) [1999, November].

Yuk, L. E. (2001). The rights of students in the classroom (In Korean). *Education for International Understanding, Fall*(5), 49-53.

Yun, C. I. (1985). *Korean education 2000*. Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute.

Zeng, K. M. (1996). Prayer, luck, and spiritual strength: The desecularization of entrance examination systems in East Asia. *Comparative Education Review, 40*(3), 264-279.

APPENDICES

A. Letter of Intent to Participate in the Study

Please be advised that I, ________________________________, agree to

(please print your first and last name)

participate in the research project entitled: *Human Rights of Youth in South Korea*. This agreement is made subject to the following conditions:

1. That I am aware that:

i) the purpose of this study is to discover Korean youth's understanding of issues and problems of human rights that relate to their lived experiences. This study also seeks to find the role that education plays in influencing this understanding of human rights.

ii) the researcher will collect data through in-depth interviews with second year high school students in Seoul. Two private, tape-recorded interviews will take place with each high school participant. A third interview may be requested, if necessary. Interviews will be approximately one and a half to two hours in length.

2. That the study is to be conducted as per the Ethics of Research as developed by the University of Alberta and as per the information provided within the approved Research Ethics Review Application of the Department of Educational Policy Studies. The following points are to reassure you of your rights as a participant in this project.

a) My participation in this interview is entirely voluntary, and as a participant, I am guaranteed confidentiality. Under no circumstances will my name or any information that could identify me be included in the final report.

b) I will be free to withdraw from the study at any point and, if I so decide, any information that I have provided will not be included in the report or the final thesis.

c) All interviews will be tape-recorded and transcribed in order to assist in analysis of data.

d) Following each interview, a summary of my comments will be provided to me as soon as possible.

e) After being provided with a summary of my comments, I will be able to make any revisions that I feel are necessary even if it involves completely striking certain information from the record.

f) I am aware of the name of the researcher (Carrie Malloy) and the department/institution to whom this study/thesis will be submitted (Educational Policy Studies/University of Alberta).

g) An executive summary and/or report of the final thesis will be provided to me (upon request) in recognition of my assistance in this study.

h) My approval to participate is given subject to guarantee of confidentiality noted at the bottom of this form. My signature is provided to demonstrate that you have read this document to me and that I understand its contents.

Name of Participant: ______________________________

Signature: ______________________________________

Date: ____

Researcher's Initials: ______________________________

B. Letter of Parental Consent

Please be advised that I, ________________________________, as parent or

(please print your first and last name)

legal guardian, give ____________________________ permission to

(please print child's first and last name)

participate in the research project entitled: *Human Rights of Youth in South Korea.* This agreement is made subject to the following conditions:

1. That I am aware that:

i) the purpose of this study is to discover Korean youth's understanding of issues and problems of human rights that relate to their lived experiences. This study also seeks to find the role that education plays in influencing this understanding of human rights.

ii) the researcher will collect data through in-depth interviews with second year high school students in Seoul. Two private, tape-recorded interviews will take place with each high school participant. A third interview may be requested, if necessary. Interviews will be approximately one and a half to two hours in length.

2. That the study is to be conducted as per the Ethics of Research as developed by the University of Alberta and as per the information provided within the approved Research Ethics Review Application of the Department of Educational Policy Studies. The following points are to reassure you of your rights as a parent or guardian of a participant in this project.

a) Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary, and as a parent or guardian of a participant, both the participant and myself are guaranteed confidentiality. Under no circumstances will our names or any information that could identify us be included in the final report.

b) I will be free to withdraw the participant from the study at any point and, if I so decide, any information that the participant has provided will not be included in the report or the final thesis.

c) All interviews will be tape-recorded and transcribed in order to assist in analysis of data.

d) I am aware of the name of the researcher (Carrie Malloy) and the department/institution to whom this study/thesis will be submitted (Educational Policy Studies/University of Alberta).

e) An executive summary and/or report of the final thesis will be made available to me (upon request) upon completion of the study.

f) My consent for participation is given subject to guarantee of confidentiality and noted at the bottom of this form. My signature is provided to demonstrate that you have read this document to me and that I understand its contents.

Name of Participant: ______________________________

Name of Parent/Guardian: ___________________________

Signature of Parent/Guardian: ________________________

Date: ____

Researcher's Initials: ______________________________

C. Guarantee of Confidentiality and Anonymity

I Carrie Malloy pledge to provide you ______________________________,

(First name, last name)

as interview participant in the study of Human Rights of Youth in South Korea, with the guarantee of complete confidentiality.

At no time will your name or the name of your high school be divulged. You will be assigned a pseudonym at the outset and this pseudonym will be used in data reporting and analysis.

Every effort will be made not to unintentionally reveal the name of your school through the description of particular incidents or occurrences. After reviewing a summary of your interview, if you are apprehensive about an incident or experience that has been described, you may exercise your right to have any mention of it stricken from all areas of the study.

Signature ________________________

D. Interview Schedule

Student 1 – October 2, 1999 & January 6, 2000

Student 2 – October 5, 1999 & January 8, 2000

Student 3 – October 12, 1999 & January 13, 2000

Student 4 – October 20, 1999 January 14, 2000

Student 5 – November 1, 1999January 15, 2000

Student 6 – November 7, 1999 & January 19, 2000

Student 7 – November 17, 1999 & January 21, 2000

Student 8 – November 23, 1999 & January 21, 2000

Student 9 – December 4, 1999 & January 24, 2000

Student 10 – December 12, 1999 & January 26, 2000